Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?

Leslie Brubaker

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Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1996

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Preface

Leslie Brubaker

The thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Dead or Alive? Byzantium in the Ninth Century, ran at the University of Birmingham from the 23rd to the 26th of March 1996. Elizabeth Bryer was alive when it was planned; she died on 16 December 1995. This volume is dedicated to her memory.

The genesis of the Symposium was simple. We felt that the thirtieth Symposium should in some way commemorate the past twenty-nine; planning in 1995, we returned to the 1975 Symposium, familiar from the now-classic *Iconoclasm*, edited by Anthony Bryer and Judith Herrin. Instead of Iconoclasm-redux, however, we asked our contributors to consider the ninth century for itself, more or less stripped of the iconoclast/iconophile mind-set that has permeated much writing about the century, but which in many ways represents the (modern) imposition of eighth-century issues on ninth-century realities. The theme of the Symposium was prosaically listed as 'Byzantium in the ninth century' at the top of all of the planning committee's agendas until (very) shortly before the preliminary mailing was delivered to the printer, when Bryer prefixed it with the query 'Dead or alive?'. As the Symposium was envisaged to focus on the aspects of the century that had been too often ignored or minimalized – lost between the seductive lure of Iconoclasm, which ended in 843, and the so-called Macedonian revival of the tenth century – Bryer's question almost seamlessly inserted itself as the appropriate epithet for a reappraisal of the evidence about the 'lost' century. While we all know that gauging the past by centuries is an artificial imposition, it remains true that the events of the 800s in Byzantium have generally been seen less as indicators of their real context than as signifiers that perpetuated or anticipated events outside their own centenary framework. Not surprisingly, the chapters that follow demonstrate that to collapse the century in such a way distorts our understanding of Byzantium: the ninth century, as any of its inhabitants would no doubt have been happy to attest, was very much alive.

The thirtieth Symposium was organized into four sessions, with framing talks by Chris Wickham on Byzantium and the west and by Hugh Kennedy

on Byzantium and Islam in the ninth century, and with a concluding lecture by Paul Speck. 'Byzantium on the ground' focussed on archaeology; most of the papers from that session have not been included here for the flat-footed reason that archaeology moves faster than the academic press: the reports needed to appear sooner than our publication schedule allowed. The remaining three sessions have shaped the three sections of this volume: 'The thought-world of Byzantium' has become Section I on the Byzantine state; part of the session `The shape of Byzantium' appears as Section II on Byzantine culture; 'Beyond Byzantium' has become Section III on Byzantine relations with the outside world. Each of these sections is introduced by a chapter intended to contextualize what follows and, to a more limited extent, to fill in at least sketchily some of the gaps that are an inevitable result of a Symposium publication.

As will be clear from the list of participants, the thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies relied on an international cast of scholars. This would not have been possible without the generous funding of the Hellenic Foundation, the A.G. Leventis Foundation, the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, and the Whitting Bequest. We thank them all, profoundly. I am also grateful to the former and the current chairs of the publications committee for the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Averil Cameron and Elizabeth Jeffreys, for their advice on this volume. On behalf of all involved in the Symposium, I thank the Symposiarch, Anthony Bryer, the Director of the Centre, John Haldon, the secretary of the Centre, Gaye Bye, and the students who made the Symposium run: Helen Tobler, who ran everything with extraordinary efficiency and even more extraordinary good humour, Julian Baker, Marian England, Andrew Livsey, Angeliki Lymberopoulou, Margaret Nicholls, and Anna Williams. Production of the volume has been handled with amazing grace by Ruth Peters; the index was compiled by Anna Williams.

Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
ABSA	*Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AnBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports*
BBA	*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*
BEFAR	*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*
Bryer and Herrin, *Iconoclasm*	A. A. M. Bryer and J. Herrin, eds, *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (March 1975)* (Birmingham, 1977)
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
Byz	*Byzantion*
ByzF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CA	*Cahiers archéologiques*
CCSL	*Corpus christianorum, Series latina*
CFHB	*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*
CPG	*Clavis patrum graecorum*
CRAI	*Comptes-rendues des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CSCO	*Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*
Deltion	*Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EO	*Échoes d'orient*
FM	*Fontes minores*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
Hell	*Ἑλληνικά*
IRAIK	*Isvestija Russkogo Arheologiceskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*

IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
Janin, *Églises*	R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantine* 1: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique* 3: *Les églises et monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969)
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Mansi	J. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols (Florence and Venice 1759–98; repr. Paris and Leipzig, 1901–27; repr. Graz 1960–62)
MEFRM	*Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
Mus	*Le Muséon*
NA	*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*
NCMH	*New Cambridge Medieval History*
OC	*Orientalia christiana*
OCA	*Orientalia christiana analecta*
ODB	A. Kazhdan, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1991)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne
PO	*Patrologia orientalis*
RBK	*Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*
REArm	*Revue des études arméniennes*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
RESEE	*Revue des études sud-est européennes*
RH	*Revue historique*
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
RSBN	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
SC	*Sources chrétiennes*
Settimane	*Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*
StT	*Studi e testi*
Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*	P. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es Gewesen; die Legenden vom Einfluss des Teufels, des Juden und des Moslem auf den Ikonoklasmus*, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 10 (Bonn, 1990)
Theoph.	Theophanes, *Chronographia*: ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883; repr. Hildesheim and New York, 1981); English tr. C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford, 1997)
Theoph.Cont.	Theophanes Continuatus: ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838).
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*

Weitzmann, *Sinai icons*	K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons I: from the sixth to the tenth centuries* (Princeton, 1976).
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremennik*
ZRVI	*Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta*

Elizabeth Bryer
in memoriam
1939–1995

Section I

The Byzantine State

1. The Byzantine state in the ninth century: an introduction

John Haldon

The four chapters that follow in this section represent four different aspects of the evolution of the Byzantine state during the ninth century. Significantly, however, they do not deal with the expansion of the so-called 'theme system', nor with fiscal administration and the state budget, all of which would certainly merit attention in a Symposium dealing with this period. They do not deal, in other words, with the institutional and administrative structures of the state, but rather with aspects of the state's being which might be seen as part of its existence in the minds and beliefs of those who inhabited it, who thought about it as a thing, an object of political–religious discourse. The state as a concept was, of course, crucial to the identity of those who had the time, or the need, to consider it: imperial, orthodox Christian, and Roman were all terms which evoked for Byzantines at any period a specific group of notions and ideas about the world and their role in it. But the vocabulary employed to describe the state was derived from pre-Christian politics and philosophy or, in more restricted legal writing, classical Roman notions. And these following chapters all examine different ways in which these definitions were re-interpreted, enhanced, and given new meaning in the course of the ninth century.

This choice of topic is, it seems to me, no accident. Both in the consciousness of learned Byzantines and for the modern historian or informed observer, the ninth century marks a watershed in the evolution of the medieval Roman polity. We can see how, after the catastrophes of the seventh century, there occurred a gradual stabilization of the foreign and domestic situation in the eighth century. The Byzantine government at Constantinople was able to begin the process of expanding its economic base through improvements in the system of fiscal assessment, as well as through the recovery of lost territories (especially in the Peloponnese and central Greece). This was not just a result of political and military stability,

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of course: cultural innovations in writing, such as the introduction of minuscule script in archival record-keeping, may also have contributed in important ways. We can also see how these resources began to affect the empire's ability to face up to and challenge the caliphate in the east, even though results were slow to follow. Furthermore, the effects of the later phases of the first period of Iconoclasm, in particular the conclusions reached by the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787, gave added impulse, if they did not create the need, to re-assess the immediate as well as the more distant past, and to provide a more self-conscious and 'modern' perspective on what had happened in the seventh and eighth centuries, something which does not seem to have existed, at least in a way which has left any obvious trace in the sources, before this time.

For the Byzantines themselves, the past needed to be explained in terms of the tangible results of the present, so that chroniclers and historians, churchmen and courtiers sought the causes of former ills and especially of Iconoclasm in order to clarify both why the empire protected by God and inhabited by the Romans, the 'chosen people', had suffered so many catastrophes, and why God had visited tyrants such as the iconoclast emperors upon them. From the perspective of a 'search for identity', the whole history of ninth-century Byzantine cultural evolution can be set against this backcloth.

But how precisely should we understand the Byzantine state in the ninth century? To begin with, we might perhaps offer a working definition of that much overused word 'state', a term which implies for the modern reader so many assumptions about how political formations work, the ways in which political élites are formed and operate, and the ways in which international relations between such political units evolve, that it is worthwhile perhaps to ask a few simple questions about how states are constituted, and whether we should use the word at all of pre-modern polities.

The debate about the origins and evolution of states and state-like political systems has its origins, in the western world at least, in ancient Athens, and can be traced through Roman and early Christian writing into the scholastic movement of the middle ages. But it was always primarily a moral and philosophical debate. In more recent European history those philosophical and moral concerns came to the fore once more in the Enlightenment and, with a more markedly social scientific aspect, in the writings of political philosophers before, during and after the French revolution. But it is especially in the last century, from Max Weber on, that social scientists, anthropologists and historians have embarked upon a debate which has involved all three different perspectives in an effort to arrive at some heuristically and descriptively useful ways of defining

'state' for the purposes of their different projects.[1] Definitions have been developed and dismissed, arguments about the issue of the permanence of bureaucratic institutions and the stability of the political formation as a whole during periods of transfer of central authority and power, of the nature and form of the extraction and redistribution of surplus wealth which political élites require to maintain their own position and the existence of the state they embody, and so on have filled countless pages. Ultimately, most definitions seem to reflect the functional requirements of a particular academic discourse (historical and diachronic, socio-anthropological and synchronic, and so forth), and one may reasonably wonder why such a simple question has produced so much literature and debate. The answer is, of course, straightforward: unless one begins with a reasonably well-thought-through working definition, locating causal relationships inevitably comes to rely more on the historian's (or anthropologist's) intuition than on a clear idea of the connections between particular elements of the analysis, and no common ground for pursuing the discussion will be created.

A working definition which I have used elsewhere, and which seems to answer to the perceived structural realities of Byzantine structures of political power, runs thus: to qualify as a state, a political formation must be a more-or-less territorially unified political entity, with a 'centre' (which may be peripatetic, of course) from which a ruler or ruling group exercises political authority, and which maintains its existence over more than a single generation. In addition, such a political formation normally possesses a political/ideological system, expressed at a formal level in political–theological discourse; a degree of institutional reproduction of key administrative functions within the state, potentially (at least) independent of the ruler and of changes in personnel. States will thus be understood as establishing over time complex ideological and legitimating systems, and more impersonalized and institutionalized modes of surplus appropriation, than do clan or tribal territorial powers; they move away from administration based on kinship and lineage relationships, however important these may remain. They also evolve institutional structures for defence and offence and for raising resources which in turn evolve their own sets of roles and discourses, divorced from the practices of 'ordinary' society. States can thus create their own administrative class, for they are made up, to a degree, of sets of specialist institutions whose 'interests' lie in the furtherance and reproduction of those ways of doing things which assure their own continued existence. I leave to one side the moral-philosophical issues, such

[1] See my discussion in 'Pre-Industrial States and the Distribution of Resources: The Nature of the Problem', in Av. Cameron and L.A. Conrad, eds, *States, Resources and Armies: Papers of the Third Workshop on Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (Princeton, 1995) 1–25.

as whether or not states are inevitably oppressive, as belonging to a somewhat different arena.

There is, however, an important analytical distinction to be drawn, between 'the state' as an abstract political entity with 'interests' in respect of the appropriation and distribution of resources, and an appropriate ideological and symbolic structure – in other words, the state as an *idea* – and the actual institutional and physical establishment of the state machinery at any given time.[2] It is the former which concerns the contributors to this first section of the Symposium volume, and in the remaining part of this introduction I will suggest why this should be.

When we look at the Byzantine political formation in the ninth century, there is no doubt that it possesses all the right qualifications for statehood: an established fiscal administrative bureaucracy, a government based in an imperial household which, in spite of often dramatic transfers of political power from ruler to ruler and their supporting factions and vested interests, remains fairly stable and continues to function even through the disruption of civil war or major foreign attack; a standing army which was paid, at least in principle, on a regular basis from a treasury whose resources were entirely independent of the imperial household (although in practice, as we know, imperial and 'state' or 'public' finances did indeed often overlap). Just as importantly, an imperial ideology and an effective machinery for establishing and maintaining a high degree of poltical–religious conformity existed in the tradition of imperial law making and in the institutions of the church. It was this, and the symbolic universe which it evoked for subjects of the emperors and the emperors themselves, which gave Byzantines, in differing ways throughout society, an idea of who they were, why they called themselves Romans, and also some notion of what duties were attached to the role with which God had endowed them.

Yet it is in precisely these later areas that Byzantines felt themselves most threatened in the ninth century. The army and the fiscal system functioned well, even if, when one examines their administration, on the one hand, and their tactical performance, on the other, the armies of the empire sometimes performed poorly just when the government most needed success. Yet even in the worst of crises, as in 811, with the emperor slain on the battlefield along with many key officers, with the government at Constantinople in

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[2] For a selection from the enormous literature on the topic, see H.J.M. Claessen and P. Skalník, *The Early State* (The Hague, 1978); H.J.M. Claessen and P. Skalník, eds, *The Study of the State* (The Hague, 1981); J.H. Kautsky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* (Chapel Hill, 1982); R. Cohen and E.R. Service, *Origins of the State. The Anthropology of Political Evolution* (Philadelphia, 1978). More recent discussion in: M. Mann, *The Sources of Social Power* I: *A History of Power from the Beginnings to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge, 1986); W.G. Runciman, *A Treatise on Social Theory* II: *Substantive Social Theory* (Cambridge, 1989); J.F. Haldon, *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production* (London, 1993), esp. chapters 2 and 3.

a state of near panic, with coups d'état in the air and discontent in the ranks, the state is hardly shaken. The local armies, half militia and half professional soldiers, continue to function at the regional level regardless of the disaster which had befallen the imperial élite forces and the provincial units which had accompanied the emperor, illustrating the effectiveness of the localization of command and defence of strong points which had evolved. The state's fiscal and administrative machinery continues to function with barely a murmur, while the various factions in the army and the Constantinopolitan establishment quickly reach a series of compromises and re-establish a common front. In other words, institutional stability was deeply rooted and the state and its apparatus were embedded in the social-political order to the extent that a political crisis following a single defeat, given the resources still available to the new rulers or their advisers, was of no real long-term significance. Indeed, the strength of this institutional fabric can be seen in the results of the seventh century when, in spite of massive losses of territory and resources, a series of political crises, a serious decline in morale and a long string of military defeats, the state and its institutions were able to survive and evolve during the eighth century in new directions.

Institutional strength is necessarily only a part of the picture, for morale and ideological motivation were equally important for any effective long-term resistance to such pressure. It was that ideological strength which had carried the empire through the seventh and eighth centuries, and in its forms and expression was still evolving in new directions – the 'Iconoclasm' of Leo III and Constantine V was one manifestation of this.[3] Yet it is apparent from the proliferation of anti-iconoclast material in the later eighth and first half of the ninth century that a problem about the past was perceived, a problem which demanded explicit answers to questions which were intimately bound up with the Byzantines' own view of themselves.

The problems which were thought to have been generated by Iconoclasm and by the rule of the emperors of the Isaurian dynasty were not, it is clear,

[3] I put the word Iconoclasm in inverted commas because I do not believe that Leo's policy was, at the beginning, much more than an imperially-sponsored interpretation of recent developments which, by dint of its imperial context, rapidly became effectively *de rigueur* for many churchmen. But there is no evidence for an official edict, and doubt can even be thrown on the connection between Leo's Iconoclasm and the resignation of Germanos in 730. Furthermore, there is no reliable evidence that all icons were affected, only those that occupied a particular position in the public view. This is the case even under Constantine V, whatever later iconophile propaganda maintained. For a fuller treatment of these issues, see L. Brubaker and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium c. 717–843: A Culture Redefined* (Cambridge, forthcoming); and P. Speck, 'Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der makedonischen Renaissance', in *Varia* 1, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 4 (Bonn, 1984), 177–210; idem, 'Die Affäre um Konstantin von Nakoleia', *BZ* 88 (1995), 148–54.

problems of state institutions (if we exclude the question of the iconoclast attitudes attributed to some of the soldiers recruited by Constantine V). On the contrary, they were problems of a moral and theological nature, and the resolution to these problems was outlined in the decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787. Yet the implications raised by these problems did not go away. For having at least provisionally resolved the question of holy images and their status, the question arose as to why they had become the focus of an imperial heresy in the first place? What influences had played a role, and how? And what did all this mean in terms of the imperial idea, the Roman past, and the claims of ninth-century Byzantines and their emperors to be both Roman and orthodox, protected by God and destined to restore the rule of orthodoxy and expand their *oikoumenê*, their (civilized) inhabited world?

Study of the texts which provide us with most of our information about the iconoclast controversy and the iconoclast emperors has been intensified recently as awareness of the extent to which anti-iconoclast theologians and others in the later eighth and ninth centuries rationalized the past in constructing their narratives of what happened. Paul Speck in particular has placed great emphasis on showing, not that iconophiles tampered with 'the facts', or that they deliberately manipulated 'the truth' – for it is apparent that no-one really knew what the facts or the truth were in any objective sense – but rather that they made sense of what they knew or could hypothesize had happened through the prism of their own common sense assumptions about the past and about the values and morality of their own culture. One of the results of this perspective is to realize that Byzantine views of the past were, so to speak, ahistorical: the fundamental modes of Christian behaviour and practice had been established in the time of the Fathers of the Church (just as the fundamental institutions of the state had been established by Constantine and reaffirmed by Justinian), and on this basis change away from these practices (or what was assumed to have been such practices, as they had evolved by the ninth century) was a deviation from the true faith and, therefore, heretical. Thus if it was accepted that holy images had always been venerated in the form defined by the Seventh Ecumenical Council (and the sessions of the council went to great lengths to show that this was indeed the case), the policies of the Isaurian emperors were clearly heretical and a deviation from the norm. Any explanation which could throw light on why this deviation had occurred was therefore plausible, so that Jewish and Islamic influence, diabolic intervention and similar causes were ascribed as motivating the emperors and their evil henchmen. These rulers could thus be made responsible not only for the schism in the church; they could also be blamed for the 'disappearance' of

classical education (the well-known passage in the chronicle of George the monk) and a whole range of other evils.[4]

But this process of interpretation did not happen all at once: on the contrary, it is important to recognize that it was a cumulative and, indeed, almost opportunistic, and certainly multi-stranded development, through which different elements within Byzantine society in the ninth century, including the rulers and their advisers, could both justify their own actions and explain any weaknesses or failings in their own policies or the actions of their forebears. The four chapters which follow mark different aspects and phases of this process. Marie Theres Fögen thus argues that the effort to recover and re-animate Roman law from the time of Basil I follows the recognition by that emperor or his closest advisers (in particular, Photios) of the inadequacies of Byzantine claims to 'Roman-ness', and of their knowledge of both the Latin language and of Roman culture, an awareness which seems to have grown following the receipt of the sharply-worded, even mocking reply received from Pope Nicholas I in 865 to his own letter by Michael III, which pointed out in the clearest terms east Roman inadequacies in these and other areas. Claudia Ludwig similarly is concerned to show how Byzantine concern with the Paulician question – which had, in fact, been an issue for some time before the Paulician rebellion in the 860s and 870s – reflects their own preoccupations, and that the unduly harsh attack on this group at that particular time is particularly significant in this respect. The attempt to reconstruct the dynastic history of the Amorian dynasty through the character and personality of the emperor Theophilos played a similar role, according to Athanasios Markopoulos, in the process of re-assessing the past and making sense of the second period of iconoclast rule; while Shaun Tougher's analysis of the thought-world of Leo VI exemplifies in many ways the results of this process. For Leo VI expresses the confidence and authority of a ruler fully aware, and able to justify and account for, his position as a divinely-appointed ruler of the God-protected empire, attitudes fully borne out and given voice in his compilation of *novellae*, in his military treatise, the *Tactica*, and in his actions during his reign. If the disaster which befell Nicephorus I in 811 and, more importantly, the re-introduction of imperial Iconoclasm by Leo V in 815, characterize the

[4] Whether or not one agrees with the detailed analyses offered in his work, the best attempt to bring these features out has been by Paul Speck, who has consistently argued that the analysis of texts relating to Iconoclasm must take the situation in the later eighth and first half of the ninth century more centrally into account. See, for example, P. Speck, 'Klassizismus im achten Jahrhundert? Die Homelie des Patriarchen Germanos über die Rettung Konstantinopels', *REB* 44 (1986), 209–27; idem, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren*, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 2 (Bonn 1982); idem, *Ich bin's nicht*; and idem, 'Wunderheilige und Bilder: Zur Frage des Beginns der Bilderverehrung', *Varia* 3, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 11 (Bonn, 1991), 163-247. See also his chapter later in this volume, and the chapter by Marie-France Auzépy.

troubles, both political and ideological, which faced the Byzantine empire at the beginning of the ninth century, then the re-animation of Roman law and the self-confidence and imperialist claims of Leo VI almost a century later are suitable testimony to the changes which had taken place in Byzantine awareness over that time. On the basis of this evidence alone, it would seem that the answer to the question posed in the title of this symposium is a resounding 'Alive!'

2. Reanimation of Roman law in the ninth century: remarks on reasons and results

Marie Theres Fögen

Among legal historians the ninth century is known as a very productive and fertile period, a time of 'classicism' and 'renaissance'.[1] There are good reasons for such a view. Under the rule of Basil I an ambitious project was initiated: the revival and a new compilation of Roman law.[2] 'Roman law' meant the numerous legal texts and imperial constitutions which had been collected in Justinian's majestic codifications, the *Digest* and the *Code*, to which Justinian had added his own novels. The Byzantine task in the ninth century was to reorganize this material, to purge from it superfluous or contradictory norms,[3] and to eliminate Latin survivals in the texts.[4] Before I focus on this last point, the problem of Latin legal language, let me explain briefly the outcome of Basil's project. Before or in 886 an introductory law book was finished, the *Eisagoge*, which, as far as civil law was concerned, was nearly exclusively based on Roman law as codified by Justinian. The same is true for another manual, called the *Procheiron*, which had been issued either, as some people hold, even earlier in the reign of Basil I, or alternatively some twenty years after the *Eisagoge*.[5] In any case, by the end

[1] For a general characterization see P.E. Pieler, 'Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur', in H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* 2 (Munich, 1978), 445–72.

[2] For the chronology and the process of regaining Roman law in the different law books of the 9th (and 10th) century see A. Schminck, *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbüchern* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986).

[3] This is the *anakátharsis tôn nómon*, Basil's project as described in the introduction to the *Eisagoge*: ed. Schminck, *Studien*, 6 lines 28–40.

[4] That this had been done successfully is stated in the introduction to the *Procheiron*: ed. Schminck, *Studien*, 58 lines 52–3.

[5] The traditional dating of the *Procheiron* to the seventies of the ninth century has been disputed by Schminck, *Studien*, 62ff., who argued for the year 907. Recently however T.E. van Bochove, *To Date and Not to Date. On the Date and Status of Byzantine Law Books* (Groningen, 1996), 7–27, argued against Schminck and for a date between 870 and 879.

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of the ninth century both minor law books were superseded by the so-called *Basilika*, which contain in sixty books Roman jurisprudence from the Republic until the third century AD and imperial constitutions from Hadrian until the days of Justinian himself. While the west had to wait for another two hundred years to rediscover the full text of Justinian's codification at Pisa and to study it at Bologna, the east knew it already in the ninth century – word by word, Greek word by Greek word.

In this chapter I would like to discuss two aspects of the ninth-century movement in law. First, *how* was the reanimation of Roman law worked out? And second: *why* were the Byzantines of the ninth century so anxious to reanimate the law of Roman times?

In order to understand how the Byzantines managed to transform Roman law into their own codification, the *Basilika*, we have to take a look at the kind of material they had at their disposal in the ninth century. Roman law as represented in the *Digest* and the *Code* was, apart from a few constitutions in the latter, exclusively Latin law. During the time of Justinian, however, the native tongue of the majority of the law students at Beirut and Constantinople was Greek. Mainly for teaching purposes translations had to be worked out by their professors.[6] These translations as well as paraphrases and commentaries – but not the original text of the *Digest* and the *Code* – were to form the basis of the Byzantine law books in the ninth century.[7]

Given the existence of Greek versions of the *Digest* and the *Code*, the compilation of the *Basilika* in the ninth century might seem to have been the rather simple task of choosing the appropriate version of various different translations of the same text and in ordering the fragments into a reasonable sequence. But there was one obstacle which complicated the process significantly. Though the professors of the sixth century were perfectly bilingual they had refrained from translating most of the technical terms of Roman law. Like any highly specialized and professional science, traditional Roman jurisprudence had developed hundreds of terms which served like abbreviations for complex legal relations. A short example will

[6] H.J. Scheltema, *L'enseignement de droit des antécesseurs* (Leiden, 1970). For the philological way of dealing with Latin words in a Greek context see L. Burgmann, 'Léxeis Romaikaí. Lateinische Wörter in byzantinischen Rechtstexten', in W. Hörandner and E. Trapp, eds, *Lexicographica Byzantina. Beiträge zum Symposion zur byzantinischen Lexikographie (Wien, 1.–4.3.1989)* (Vienna, 1991), 61–79.

[7] See also A. Michel, 'Sprache und Schisma', in *Festschrift Kardinal Faulhaber zum achtzigsten Geburtstag* (Munich, 1949), 37–69, esp. 43: 'Die Rechtsgelehrten, die unter Basileios I. und Leon VI. dem Philosophen die neue Kodifikation des gelehrten Rechtes besorgten, griffen nirgends auf die lateinischen Quellen zurück, sondern hielten sich an die griechischen Versionen und Kommentare des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts'. This is perfectly true. However, Michel overlooked the fact that the Greek versions of the sixth century were full of Latin expressions; he therefore did not touch upon the problem which will be discussed in this paper.

suffice to illustrate the problem and to show what kind of material formed the basis for Basil's project in the ninth century.

Text 1: *Digest* 15.1.36 (Ulpian)

With regard to *bona fide* contracts, the question has been raised whether the father or master should be held liable for the full amount or only up to the value of the *peculium*; similarly when a dowry has been given to a son, it has been debated whether the father's liability in an action on the dowry should be limited to the amount of the *peculium*. I think that the action lies not only on the *peculium* but also for anything extra which the woman has been tricked and cheated out of by the fraud of the father ... According to Pomponius, the holding in the case of a slave with whom property has been pawned should be extended to the other good faith contracts; for if a thing has been pawned with a slave, the action on the *peculium* and for benefit taken is extended to include 'anything which the plaintiff has been tricked and cheated out of by the fraud of the master'.[8]

In the third century the jurist Ulpian discussed the question to what extent a father or the master of a slave is liable for disadvantages other people suffer from the use of a *peculium*, i.e. certain property which a father grants to persons under his authority. Normally the father's liability was limited to the value of the *peculium*, if he was sued on the ground of the *actio de peculio*. However, Ulpian argues, the father must compensate up to the full amount, not only up to the value of the *peculium*, if the damage was caused by his own fraud. This is the case if a master deceitfully makes profit from property, which his slave had received as a pawn. The plaintiff then could sue him on the ground of the *actio pigneriticia* for the full damage. And this is true also if a father fraudulently retains property which belongs to the *peculium* of his son and which had been given to him, via his wife, as a dowry. By means of an *actio ex stipulatu* the woman could demand full compensation, not limited to the value of the *peculium*. The rule has to be extended to all contracts of a specific sort, the so-called *bonae fidei* contracts.

[8] In bonae fidei contractibus quaestionis est, an de peculio an in solidum pater vel dominus tenerentur: ut est in actione de dote agitatum, si filio dos data sit, an pater dumtaxat de peculio conveniretur. Ego autem arbitror non solum de peculio, sed et si quid praeterea dolo malo patris capta fraudataque est mulier, competere actionem ... nam quod in servo, cui res pignori data est, expressum est, hoc et in ceteris bonae fidei iudiciis accipiendum esse Pomponius scripsit. namque si servo res pignori data sit, non solum de peculio et in rem verso competit actio, verum hanc quoque habet adiectionem 'et si quid dolo malo domini captus fraudatusque actor est'. Tr. A. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian* 1 (Philadelphia, 1985). For discussion of D.15.1.36 see M. Kaser, 'Die Rechtsgrundlagen der actio rei uxoriae', *RIDA* 2 (1949), 511–50, esp. 528–31. Kaser doubts that the text is a genuine fragment of Ulpian – a question which is not relevant in the present context.

When this text had to be explained to the students in the sixth century their professor must surely have been in a quandary. To translate the narration and the syntax into Greek was not so difficult. But how could he re-word *de peculio* or *bonae fidei* actions, when there never had been anything like a *peculium* or a classification of actions in ancient Greece, and therefore no appropriate term existed in Greek for either?

In short: the problem of any translation – that not only words, but the whole cultural background has to be 'translated' – becomes in the case of legal terms nearly insoluble. The professors of the sixth century solved the problem by leaving many Latin terms in Latin. A short paraphrase of the case under discussion thereby reads:

Text 2: BS 1131/2-4 ad B.18.5.36 = *Digest* 15.1.36

With regard to *bona fide* [good faith] actions like the action *ex stipulatu* for a claim on the dowry and the action *pigneraticia* [for a claim on a pawn] the father or the master is liable not only on account of the action *de peculio* and the action *de in rem verso* [for benefit taken], but also on account of his own *dolus* [fraud].[9]

Six Latin terms in one short phrase, four of which – *bona fide, de peculio, de in rem verso,* and *dolus* – were to be found in the *Digest* passage under discussion, while two more – *ex stipulatu* and *pigneraticia* – were added by the professional interpreter.[10] The sixth-century 'translations' thus represented a blend of Greek colloquial language and Latin legal jargon. The body of law, one could say, became Greek, but the soul remained Latin.

Three hundred years later, in the ninth century, the sixth-century translations were still available, but in the meantime the knowledge of law as well as of Latin had diminished dramatically.[11] When the project of reanimating Roman law was initiated under Basil I there were probably few people at Constantinople who knew Latin. There were even fewer, we must presume, who knew the kind of Latin required to understand the mixed Greco-Latin bequest of the sixth-century law professors.

Reanimating Roman law therefore meant not so much compiling and collating earlier Greek versions in an adequate manner, but rather learning Roman law from the beginning. Fortunately, the traces of this learning process can be discerned and studied. In about one hundred manuscripts,

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[9] Ἐπὶ τῶν *βόνα φίδε* (*bona fide*) ἀγωγῶν,οἷα ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ προικὸς ἐξστιπουλάτου (*ex stipulatu*) καὶ ἡ *πιγνερατικία* (*pigneraticia*), οὐ μόνον *δε πεκουλίο* (*de peculio*) καὶ δε ἰν ρὲμ βέρσο (*de in rem verso*) ὁ πατὴρ ἢ ὁ δεσπότης κατέχεται , ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ οἰκείου δόλου (*dolus*).

[10] Following earlier precedent, the actions *pigneraticia* and *ex stipulatu* for the dowry were defined as *bonae fidei* actions by Justinian, *Institutes* 4.6.28–9.

[11] Michel, *Sprache*, 44, speaks of 'byzantinisches Übersetzerelend', a poverty which lasted at least until the eleventh and probably until the late thirteenth century.

dating from the eleventh century through the post-Byzantine period, we find various kinds of legal glossaries.[12] Most of these are short Latin-Greek dictionaries listing words or expressions in a roughly alphabetical order. In the lists appear five of the six Latin terms found in the above example:

Text 3: glossaries, ninth or tenth century

BONA FIDE	βοναφίδει	καλῇ πίστει[13]
STIPULATIO	ἐξστηπουλάτου	ἡ ἐπερώτησις[14]
(ACTIO) PIGNERATICIA	πιγνερατικία	ἀγωγὴ περὶ ἐνεχύρου[15]
(ACTIO DE) IN REM VERSO	ἡ ἰνρὲμ βέρσο	ἡ τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ αὐξηθὲν ἐν πεκουλίῳ ἀπαιτοῦσα[16]
DOLUS	Δόνουμ	ἡ σφοδρὰ ἀμέλεια[17]
DE DOLO	δεδόλω	ἀγωγὴ περὶ δόλου

Only *peculium* always remained *pekoúlion* in Byzantium as *dolus* usually remained *dólos*.[18]

These lists of Latin-Greek synonyms were made by extracting single Latin words from sixth-century manuscripts in which a Greek explanation had been added in the text or in the margin. In one case, the glossary 'ádet', Ludwig Burgmann discovered that Theophilos's Greek paraphrase of Justinian's *Institutes* was used[19] – an especially suitable source, because the *Institutes* are a textbook for students and Theophilos, the sixth-century Greek teacher, had already made the attempt to propose Greek words for many Latin terms.

Lists of Latin words and Greek explanations from various sources were certainly a basis to begin with, but these lists by no means prove that the Byzantines understood the full meaning of the terms. On the contrary, the unusual number of mistakes in the glossaries show that the road from translation to proper understanding was long.[20] To understand Roman law

[12] L. Burgmann, 'Byzantinische Rechtslexika', in *FM* 2 (1977), 87–146. *Lexica Iuridica Byzantina*, = *FM* 7 (1990), eds L. Burgmann, M.T. Fögen, R. Meijering, and B. Stolte.

[13] E.g. Lexicon ádet B 5: ed. L. Burgmann, in *FM* 6 (1984), 40.

[14] E.g. Lexicon Hexabiblos aucta, E 25 and E 41 line 1: ed. M.T. Fögen, in *FM* 8 (1990), 176–7.

[15] E.g. Lexicon auseth P 82: ed. L. Burgmann, in *FM* 8 (1990), 321.

[16] E.g. Ῥωμαικαὶ ἀγωγαί 6.4/7: ed. R. Meijering, in *FM* 8 (1990), 68.

[17] E.g. Lexicon Hexabiblos aucta D 46: ed. M.T. Fögen, in *FM* 8 (1990), 169.

[18] Ἀγωγὴ περὶ δόλου, e.g. Lexicon auseth D 64: ed. L. Burgmann, in *FM* 8 (1990), 303.

[19] 'Das Lexikon ádet', in *FM* 6 (1984), 19–61.

[20] Many of the errors are simple mechanical ones, caused by barely legible manuscripts; misreadings also appear when the original words were partly written in Latin letters, from which it is clear that the authors had hardly any knowledge of the Latin language. Examples from the glossary of the 'Hexabiblos aucta' (ed. M.T. Fögen, in *FM* 8 [1990], 153–214) include: Ὀπροσσι δένδης = *uti possidetis* (O 23); Ῥεμο ἰντέγορα = *res integra* (R 19); Τεππιτοποτιούμ = *territorium* (T 3).

another step had to be taken, and it too is well documented. During the time when the *Basilika* were prepared, some anonymous authors began to write short commentaries on Roman *actiones, leges* and *senatusconsulta*.[21] There is no doubt that in order to understand what an *actio de peculio* means the authors made use of the abundant sixth-century material and extracted from it not only Latin words but also the principal rules and structures of Roman law. The authors of the commentaries were thus able to explain in detail what is meant by *actio/agogé*, and to which category of actions *de peculio* belongs, in which situation it can be used and against whom. Intellectually modest as the commentaries are, they nevertheless show how the Byzantines learnt their lessons in Roman law. By the end of the ninth century Roman law became Byzantine law because all the Latin keywords were not only translated but quite well explained and understood in their original dogmatic context. Both the bare lists of Latin-Greek synonyms and the more elaborate commentaries on Latin terms supported the compilation of the *Basilika*[22] and represent one step of what is known as 'exhellenismos', i.e. the metamorphosis of Latin legal language into purely Greek language. The paraphrase of a Latin text quoted above which retained six Latin expressions in one phrase is hardly recognizable anymore in its final 'exhellenized' form. By the end of the ninth century it reads:

Text 4: *Basilika* 18.5.36

With regard to good faith actions, as in the case where a dowry if given to a son under the authority of the father, the father is liable on account of the action *de peculio* and additionally on account of his own fraud ... This is so also in the case where a pawn is given to a slave and in all cases of good faith actions.[23]

The process I have briefly described is usually called a 'reception'. Reception, in contrast for example to 'development' or 'continuous progress', means that a certain alien knowledge, belonging to a foreign or past culture,

[21] The earliest example is the Ῥωμαικαὶ ἀγωγαί: ed. R. Meijering, in *FM* 8 (1990), 1–152.

[22] Though the earliest manuscript of the Ῥωμαικαὶ ἀγωγαί dates from the eleventh century, the archetype can be placed most probably in the late ninth century: see M.T. Fögen, 'Byzantinische Kommentare zu römischen Aktionen', in *FM* 8 (1990), 215–48, esp. 240–3. As it is uncertain whether or not the *Basilika* was 'purified' of all Latin words from the beginning (see N. van der Wal, 'Der Basilikentext und die griechischen Kommentare des sechsten Jahrhunderts', in A. Guarino and L. Labruna, eds, *Synteleia Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz* [Naples, 1964], 1158–65, esp. 1162 note 16, and L. Burgmann, 'Léxeis', 65) it is possible that the glossaries and commentaries continued to be written in the early tenth century.

[23] Ἐπὶ τῶν καλῇ πίστει ἀγωγῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς δοθείσης τῷ ὑπεξουσίῳ προικός, πρός τῇ περι τοῦ πεκουλίου ἀγωγῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου δόλου ὁ πατὴρ ἐνάγεται. ... Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν καὶ ἐπὶ ἐνεχύρου δοθέντος τῷ δούλῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πασῶν τῶν καλῇ πίστει ἀγωγῶν.

is acquired by another society.[24] Therefore one usually speaks of the 'reception of Roman law' only in regard to the western world from the eleventh century on. Though I do not doubt that Byzantine society preserved a minimal memory of Roman-Justinianic law during the seventh and eighth century, I would argue that by the beginning of the ninth century this memory was in practice reduced to the mere awareness that there had been an emperor, Justinian, who was a great and unforgettable lawgiver. The painstaking effort to acquire the ancient and not so ancient Roman law from the beginning and in its totality is a phenomenon of the ninth century which was a revolution rather than an evolution. To answer the question of this symposium: while evolutions may happen in nearly dead societies, revolutions need lively spirits.

The admirable achievement of making Roman law Byzantine intellectual property during the ninth century raises the question of the conditions and motives which might have stimulated the process described. It has been presumed that the so-called renaissance in law had something to do with the Byzantine identity as 'Romans'.[25] In order to specify the meaning of such a general assumption I would like to focus on one outstanding text which has not so far been discussed in this context, the famous letter of September 865 from Pope Nicholas I to the Byzantine Emperor Michael III.[26] After the formal deposition of Ignatios at the synod of 861 in the presence of Roman delegates,[27] Pope Nicholas received a letter which was signed by Michael

[24] See P. Häberle, 'Theorieelemente eines allgemeinen juristischen Rezeptionsmodells', *Juristenzeitung* (1992), 1033–43, who discusses the general problem of 'reception' as cultural transfer in the light of modern constitutional law.

[25] See e.g. P. Speck, 'Konstantinopel – ein Modell für Bologna? Zur Gründung der Rechtsschule durch Irnerius', *Varia* 3, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 11 (Bonn, 1991), 307–48, esp. 323: 'Der eigentliche Sinn und Zweck dieser Arbeit [scil. der anakatharsis] aber ist der Beweis vor sich selbst und vor anderen, daß man Römer ist und einen römischen Staat regiert, der in allem wieder das Niveau seiner glorreichen Vorgänger erreicht hat'.

[26] On Nicholas I and his correspondence with the Byzantines see J. C. Bishop, 'Pope Nicholas I and the First Age of Papal Independence', Ph.D. thesis (Columbia University, 1980), esp. 100–21; E. Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papsttums im neunten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1920), esp. 152ff.; A. Greinacher, *Die Anschauungen des Papstes Nikolaus I. Über das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche*, Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte 10 (Berlin/Leipzig, 1909). For the letter: ed. E. Perels, *MGH Epistolae* 6 (repr. Munich, 1978), 454–87 (ep. 88); *PL* 119: 926ff. (ep. 86); P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum ... MCXCVIII*, 2nd edn rev. by G. Wattenbach, S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald (Leipzig, 1885–88; repr. Graz, 1956), no. 2796. The letter is partly translated in H. Rahner, *Kirche und Staat im frühen Christentum* (Munich, 1961), 458–87; an extensive paraphrase appeared in J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Konstantinopel* 1 (Regensburg, 1867, repr. Darmstadt, 1966), 555–79. The citations that follow in the text refer to the *MGH* edition of the letter.

[27] On Ignatios's expulsion in 859 see V. Grumel and J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople* (Paris, 1989), no. 461; on the 861 synod, ibid., no. 469. For a short

III but obviously, as Nicholas himself points out (473 lines 25ff.), written by somebody else, undoubtedly the then-patriarch Photios. This letter is lost, but we can reconstruct from Nicholas's answer that Michael, via Photios, had seriously insulted and even threatened the Pope, and had accused him of unduly meddling in Byzantine church affairs.

Nicholas replied comprehensively; indeed, he used the occasion to teach the Byzantine emperor some basic rules of fair trial and to outline a concept of the relation between the Byzantine empire and the pope of Rome. First of all (457 lines 34ff. and 458 lines 26ff.), he argued that there had never before been an emperor who had dared to approach the pope with such a commanding and demanding attitude; Michael's predecessors asked or solicited favours with the humility which a son owes to his father. Then (460 lines 7ff.) Nicholas criticized the trial against Ignatios which he claimed violated all principles of fairness and justice such as *ne bis in idem* and the 'impartial judge'. Furthermore, he argued that no patriarch can be judged by inferiors. Neither by the clergy, let alone excommunicated priests (462 lines 1ff.), nor the emperor himself (486 lines 28ff.) has the authority to dismiss a patriarch; this prerogative is held exclusively by the pope of Rome (469 lines 10ff.). The emperor's sphere of influence is confined to worldly affairs (469 lines 31ff.). In contrast, the pope of Rome is obliged to support his brothers, in this case the Patriarch Ignatios (476 lines 16ff.). Nicholas observes that the first see, Rome, has the right and the duty of jurisdiction over the Christian universe, a privilege which nobody can destroy because it was granted by Jesus Christ (475 lines 1ff.). He concludes (485 lines 36ff.) by reminding the Byzantine emperor to abstain from imitating the Jewish example of a priest-king like Melchisedek and to cease acting like a *pontifex maximus*.

Each argument is supported by abundant references from the Church Fathers, the synods and the writings of the popes, Gelasius being the chief witness for many statements. Every reproach is illustrated by bad examples from the past. Nicholas's letter is a masterpiece of Latin erudition,[28] fine rhetoric and clear argumentation. It is not surprising that in the centuries to come the key ideas concerning fair trial, the primacy of Rome, and the separation of worldly and priestly powers were repeated in western compilations of canon law and of Gratian's Decretum.[29]

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description of the situation see J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), 73–9 and more comprehensively F. Dvornik, 'Die Idee der Pentarchie – Photius und der Primat', in idem, *Byzanz und der römische Primat* (Stuttgart, 1966), 113–44.

[28] Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I.*, 153f., and Greinacher, *Anschauungen*, 69, conclude that the letter, though an impressive example of western independence and self-confidence, lacks originality and shows no traces of a new papal doctrine on church and state.

[29] Full evidence in E. Perels, 'Die Briefe Papst Nikolaus' I.', *NA* 39 (1914), 43–153.

I have the impression that some of the ideas, especially those of two distinct powers and the primacy of the Roman see, became known in the Byzantine world of the ninth century through Nicholas's letter. When we read the definition of the role of the Byzantine patriarch in the *Eisagoge*, the law book mentioned earlier, the text seems to echo Nicholas's letter written twenty years previously.[30] But the relation between the papal doctrine of empire and church and Photios's concept as expressed in the *Eisagoge* needs much further investigation and research.[31] At this point I would like to indicate another, less conspicuous passage of Nicholas's letter which brings us back to the Latin language and the reception of Roman law in Byzantium. In this passage (459 lines 5–32), Pope Nicholas tells the Emperor Michael III:

> You were driven into such an overwhelming frenzy, that you insulted the Latin language calling it in your letter barbaric and Skythian, which is an insult to him who created this language, because every denigration of a work entails also an insult to its author. Oh, what fury, which has not even spared the language which was created by God. ... We are dismayed that your majesty is not ashamed: for it is the language of Christian peoples which you call barbaric and Skythian. Is it not well known that all barbarians and Skythians live like ignorant animals, that they do not know the true God, but worship trees and stones? From this, of course, one can see how much the Latin language, which worships the true God, surpasses the barbarian and Skythian language. Furthermore, if you call the Latin language barbaric, because you do not understand Latin, you should be careful: is it not ridiculous to call yourself emperor of the Romans when you do not know the language of the Romans? And finally, you call the language under discussion barbaric for the simple reason that by translating Latin into Greek certain barbarisms were generated. This, though, we believe, is not the fault of the Latin language but the fault of interpreters, who tried to force words out of words rather than, as is necessary, to produce meaning out of meaning. In fact, in the beginning of your letter you call yourself 'emperor of the Romans', but you are not afraid to call the Roman language barbaric! In truth, every day, especially on the occasion of major ceremonies, you set into the Greek language as if it were a precious jewel exactly what you call a barbarian and Skythian language! And you do so as if you would diminish your majesty if you were to refrain from

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[30] Title 2 and 3 of the *Eisagoge* describe the see of Constantinople as head of all other sees with supreme jurisdiction (*Eis.* 3.9), they define the patriarch as the image of Christ and the 'engraver' of truth (*Eis.* 3.1), insist that emperor and patriarch are two different institutions with separate assignments (*Eis.* 2.2, *Eis.* 3.2, cf. 3.8) and oblige the emperor to follow strictly the scriptures and the canons (*Eis.* 2.4). The 'true' author of the *Eisagoge* (Photios) seems to reformulate and to apply to his own position what Nicholas had told the 'true' addressee of his letter (also Photios).

[31] A totally new interpretation based on the Old Testament has been offered recently by G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996), 233–42.

> using Latin words in your retinue and offices[32] – even though these words are not used properly or perfectly understood. So, abandon the title 'emperor of the Romans', because according to your own opinion they are barbarians whose emperor you claim to be![33]

Barbaric and Skythian – the Byzantine emperor had made use of forceful labels to slander the Latin language[34] and to mock the whole of western culture. The pope's retaliation was powerful and hurting.

In this passage, the pope – or his secretary Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who was probably the true author,[35] – shows much understanding of and consideration for linguistic problems. He is aware of the deterioration a

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[32] The expression 'in vestris obsequiis ac officiis' may also mean 'in your prayers and services' and thereby refer to the use of Latin in liturgy. However, slightly later in the letter the pope mentions the use of Latin 'in vestro palatio' (459 line 33), undoubtedly the imperial palace, not the church. Only after this does Nicholas mention the use of Latin in the Constantinopolitan church (460 lines 1ff.). In general, therefore, Nicholas had both the ecclesiastical and the secular use of Latin in mind.

[33] In tantam vero furoris habundantiam prorupistis, ut linguae Latinae iniuriam irrogaretis, hanc in epistola vestra barbaram et Skythicam appellantes ad iniuriam eius, qui fecit eam; omnis enim operis derogatio ad opificis redundat iniuriam. O furorem, qui nec linguae novit parcere, quam Deus fecit ... Vel quia Christiani sunt, quorum linguam barbaram et Scythicam appellatis, gloriam vestram quare non pudeat, obstupescimus. Cum enim barbari omnes et Scythae ut insensata animalia vivant, Deum verum nesciant, ligna autem et lapides adorent, in eo ipso, quo verum Deum colit lingua Latina, quantum barbaram vel Scythicam linguam antecedat, agnoscitur. Iam vero, si ideo linguam Latinam barbaram dicitis, quoniam illam non intelligitis, vos considerate, quia ridiculum est vos appellare Romanorum imperatores et tamen linguam non nosse Romanam. Ad extremum autem, si iam saepe nominatam linguam ideo barbaram nuncupatis, quoniam a translatoribus in Graecam dictionem mutata barbarismos generat, non linguae Latinae, sed culpa est, ut opinamur, interpretum, qui quando necesse est non sensum e sensu, sed violenter verbum edere conantur e verbo. Ecce enim in principio epistolae vestrae imperatorem vos nuncupastis Romanorum et tamen Romanam linguam barbaram appellare non veremini. Ecce cotidie, immo vero in praecipuis festivitatibus inter Graecam linguam veluti quiddam pretiosum hanc, quam barbaram et Scythicam linguam appellatis, miscentes, quasi minus decori vestro facitis, si hac etiam non bene ac ex toto intellecta in vestris obsequiis ac officiis non utamini. Quiescite igitur vos nuncupare Romanorum imperatores, quoniam secundum vestram sententiam barbari sunt, quorum vos imperatores esse asseritis.

[34] For more examples of the Byzantine disregard of the Latin language see Michel, 'Sprache', 46–8. While the Byzantines mainly refused to get acquainted with the 'barbaric' language, the Greek language was at the same time rather esteemed in the West (although – apart from few outstanding 'pioneers' like Anastasius Bibliothecarius and Luitprand of Cremona – few westerners knew it). See ibid., 48ff. and 63 – 'Je geringer das wirkliche Wissen war, um so größer war der Drang, mit griechischem Einschlag zu prunken. Diese Tatsache ist deshalb wichtig, weil damit die höhere Bildungslage des Ostens immer wieder und überall anerkannt wurde' – and Chris Wickham's chapter later in this volume.

[35] Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I.*, 155 and 306f.; F. Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1926), 133. Cf. also the article 'Anastasio Bibliotecario' in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (1961), 25–37.

language may suffer from translation and, quoting St Jerome[36] and Horace[37] nearly literally, he demands that translators not render word for word, but preserve the sense.[38] Nicholas also knows the risks involved in any translation: the final clause of the letter threatens with anathema any interpreter who in future changes, shortens or lengthens the text 'more than the translation into the Greek language requires'.[39]

But far beyond these problems language has become a mighty symbol. The pope essentially tells Michael III: not knowing a word of Latin, you had better cease to call yourself emperor of the Romans! If Latin is barbaric, you'd better call yourself an emperor of barbarians! These exclamations centre on the *Kaiseridee* itself, on the legitimation of the Byzantine emperor as emperor of the Roman world.[40] Nicholas, indeed, addresses Michael just as 'emperor'

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[36] St Jerome, *Epistola LVII ad Pammachium*: *CSEL* 54 (Vienna, 1910), 503–26 at 508 (*PL* 22: 571): 'Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Graecorum, absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu'. See also Jerome's preface *in librum Judith*, noted in the apparatus to epistle 88: 'magis sensum e sensu, quam ex verbo verbum transferens' (*PL* 29: 40B).

[37] *De arte poetica*: ed. Loeb, lines 133–4: 'nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus interpres' (do not seek to render word for word as a slavish translator). See also Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*: ed. Loeb, 14: 'In quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servari' (I do not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language). Both Horace and Cicero are quoted by St Jerome.

[38] Similarly, in his preface to the *Life of John Eleemonysarius* (John of Alexandria), addressed to Pope Nicholas I, Anastasius Bibliothecarius claimed to be neither able nor obliged to translate Greek into Latin literally: 'Cum autem beatum hunc in Latinum verterem eloquium, nec Grecorum idiomata nec eorum ordinem verborum sequi potui vel debui. Non enim verbum e verbo, sed sensum e sensu excerpsi'. *MGH Epistolae* 7 (repr. Munich, 1978), 397 lines 16–18; *PL* 73: 339–40.

[39] 487 lines 21–3: 'Quisquis etiam interpretatus eam [epistolam] fuerit et ex ea quicquam mutaverit vel subtraxerit aut superaddiderit, praeter illud, quod idioma Graevae dictionis exigit vel interpretanti scientia intellegendi non tribuit, anathema sit'.

[40] See also the letter of Louis II to Basil I of the year 871 which was also probably written by Anastasius (W. Henze, 'Ueber den Brief Kaiser Ludwigs II. an den Kaiser Basilius I.', *NA* 35 [1910] 661–76; Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I*, 155 note 2): 'We ... received the power of the Roman empire. The Greeks ceased to be the emperors of the Romans because of their "kacodosia", their wicked belief. They not only gave up the city and seats of the empire, but also totally abandoned the Roman people and the language itself and emigrated in every respect to a different city, seat, people and language' (nos ... regimen imperii Romani suscepimus; Graeci propter kacodosiam, id est malam opinionem, Romanorum imperatores existere cessaverunt, deserentes videlicet non solum urbem et sedes imperii, set et gentem Romanam et ipsam quoque linguam penitus ammitentes atque ad aliam urbem sedem gentem et linguam per omnia transmigrantes: *MGH Epistolae* 7, 390 lines 11–15). In the same letter Anastasius/Louis II disputes the titles 'basileus' and 'rex', accusing Basil I of not even knowing the correct spelling of 'rex' and 'regem' (Basil had evidently written 'rix' and 'rigam'), let alone the proper translation which, of course, would be nothing else but 'basileus': 'Quod si ita est, quia non iam barbarum, sed Latinum est, oportet, ut cum ad manus vestras pervenerit, in linguam vestram fideli translatione vertatur. Quod si factum fuerit, quid aliud nisi hoc nomine basuleus interpretabitur?' (ibid. 390 line 38–391 line 3).

or sometimes as 'emperor of the Greeks', but not as 'emperor of the Romans'.[41]

We can easily imagine the threatening impact Nicholas's letter had on the Byzantine emperor – who, of course, could not understand it without translation. To put Nicholas under anathema in 867 was a fierce response to the pope's provocation.[42]

As time went by the Byzantines reacted in a more civilized and effective way. The lack of Latin language and culture pointed out by Nicholas was in fact embarrassing. Any kind of proof that the Byzantine emperor was the right, just and legitimate emperor of the Romans must have been welcome. The hallmark of ancient Roman culture, the most admired and venerated cultural achievement of the Romans, was not philosophy, science, nor the liberal arts in general – all this had been done already and better by the ancient Greeks. The outstanding and characterizing feature of ancient Roman culture was undoubtedly Roman law. 'For it is', as Cicero put it, 'incredible how disordered and nearly ridiculous is all national law other than our own'.[43]

As if they were following Nicholas's strongly worded advice not to render word for word but to preserve the sense, the Byzantines began to study the legal texts of the sixth century and to translate them into pure Greek. Nicholas's mockery of Byzantine ignorance of the Roman language and of Roman culture may well have provided an impulse to make such a strong effort. The reanimation of Roman law in the time of the Emperor Basil I and the Patriarch Photios looks like the answer to Nicholas's letter, an attempt to regain the mighty symbol of Roman power and to demonstrate that the Byzantines were still and forever true Romans.

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[41] As has been observed already by Bishop, *Pope Nicholas*, 108–10. Cf. epistulae 82 rubr., 84, and 89 rubr.: *MGH Epistolae* 7, 433 lines 15–16, 441 line 5 and 442 line 26, 487 line 31.

[42] Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 498.

[43] *De oratore* 1.43.197: 'Incredibile est enim, quam sit omne ius civile, praeter hoc nostrum, inconditum, ac paene ridiculum'. Cicero continues that he especially likes to talk about this with the Greek people in order to contrast Roman culture (*prudentia*) with theirs.

3. The Paulicians and ninth-century Byzantine thought

Claudia Ludwig

According to historians of the Paulicians,[1] at the beginning of the ninth century a certain Sergios took over the leadership of the Paulician movement. During his thirty-year leadership the dissemination of the Paulician heresy within the Byzantine empire reached its height, and from this point until the year 878, when the Byzantine Emperor Basil I finally inflicted a crushing defeat on them and took their last stronghold, Tephrike, the Paulicians were persecuted by the Byzantines. But who were the Paulicians and why did the government in Constantinople (and imperial apologists) isolate and persecute them? In the first part of this chapter I shall focus on the way the Paulicians presented themselves, and in the second part I will attempt to elucidate the background to the extremely severe reaction against them. Though for simplicity's sake I will sometimes set 'Paulicians' against 'Byzantines' it is worth reiterating that the Paulicians saw themselves as Byzantines: segregation of the group as a distinct heretical sect is a Constantinopolitan construct.

Unfortunately, we are not very well informed about Paulician religion, because our knowledge depends on sources with a strong bias against the group, mainly the *History of the Paulician Heresy* written about 870 by Peter

[1] The main source is Peter of Sicily, *History of the Paulician Heresy* (henceforth *History*, cited by paragraphs): ed. D. Papachryssanthou, in C. Astruc *et al.*, 'Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie mineure', *TM* 4 (1970), 1–227. On the Paulicians in general see the comprehensive study of P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie mineure d'après les sources grecques', *TM* 5 (1973), 1–144 (with detailed bibliography) and M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974). For special aspects concerning the Paulicians see among others H. Bartikian, 'Encore un fois sur l'origine du nom "Pauliciens"', *REArm* n.s. 9 (1972), 445–51; L. Barnard, 'The Paulicians and Iconoclasm', in Bryer and Herrin, *Iconoclasm*, 75–82; T. Korres, Οἱ διώξεις τῶν Παυλικιάνων ἐπὶ Μιχαὴλ Α', *Byzantina* 10 (1980), 203–15.

of Sicily.[2] Although Peter claims to have visited the Paulician city of Tephrike and to have learned quite a lot about Paulician beliefs there, he presents little solid information.[3] His general remarks about the origins and the history of the heresy until the mid-ninth century are rather vague, and he concentrates on demonstrating that the Paulicians are in fact Manichaeans.

From the *History* and other sources we can, however, deduce the rough development of the movement. The Paulician heresy was of Armenian origin and the number of adherents increased considerably during the first three decades of the ninth century when, under the leadership of Sergios, the Paulicians engaged in missionary activity on a large scale. Sergios also commissioned one of his followers to write a history of the Paulicians and himself wrote several letters to individuals and to Paulician communities.[4] The history itself is not preserved, but we may derive at least some of its information from the defamatory writing of Peter of Sicily, who probably made extensive use of the history written at Sergios' initiative. Because Peter's work is so tendentious and was used as orthodox propaganda to fight the Paulician heresy, one has to look very carefully at every piece of information given by Peter in order to separate the genuine Paulician elements from the orthodox propaganda. Peter of Sicily does preserve a few literal quotations from the letters written by Sergios; however, to make things even more complicated, we have to bear in mind that Sergios, too, was far from presenting what we would call an 'accurate' history of the Paulician movement: he was pursuing his own interests. We will come back to this later. Let us start with Sergios' own history and his career as a *didaskalos*, as the Paulicians called their leaders.

According to Peter of Sicily's *History* – and I think in this case Peter did not make major changes to the Paulician tradition apart from recasting originally positive evaluations into negative ones – Sergios' first contact with Paulician belief was a long and important conversation he had with a Paulician woman.[5] This indicates that he was not born in the Paulician community but came from outside,[6] which I will argue shortly is of great

[2] I have tried elsewhere to extract the reliable information from this source: C. Ludwig, 'Wer hat was in welcher Absicht wie beschrieben? Bemerkungen zur Historia des Petros Sikeliotes über die Paulikianer', *Varia* 2, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 6 (Bonn, 1987), 149–227.

[3] This lack of concrete information arouses suspicion that he had never been in Tephrike but relied on some now-lost Paulician history: see P. Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien', *Hell* 27 (1974), 381–7, esp. 384–5 and 387; and Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 151–2.

[4] On the commissioned 'history' see Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 209–11. Peter cites several sections of Sergios' letters: *History*, chapters 153, 157, 158, 160, 161.

[5] *History*, chapters 138–46, including the orthodox interpretation given by Peter.

[6] Chapters 130–2. These chapters also give a defamatory description of Baanes who is said to be a bastard of Jewish origin. This polemic may originate from Sergios rather than from Peter of Sicily.

significance for our understanding of the Paulician tradition as put forward by Sergios. The Paulician woman taught him to read the holy scripture, especially the gospels, and not to rely on the interpretations given by the priests.

Ultimately, Sergios became a Paulician leader. This caused problems with the acting leader, Baanes, who accused Sergios of having neither seen nor heard any of the former leaders, whereas he, Baanes, had been a pupil of the last leader Joseph and was now teaching the same way as Epaphroditos – as Joseph had renamed himself – had done before. This conflict resulted in a split of the movement into two parties, the Sergiotae and the Baaniotae, that lasted until about 835. Sergios was killed, perhaps by one of the so-called Baaniotae, after which his party started to kill the Baaniotae until one of his followers was able to put an end to this.[7] During this period the Paulicians were also persecuted by Byzantine state and church officials and, probably during Sergios' lifetime, the surviving members of the community were forced to flee to Arab territory, where the *amir* of Melitene gave them permission to live in Argaoun, a city about twenty miles north of Melitene itself.[8]

The sources provide us with some information about the organization of the Paulician communities and about their religious doctrine. The head of the Paulician community was the so-called *didaskalos*. *Mystikoteroi*, *iereis*, *synekdemoi* and *notarioi* are also mentioned; unfortunately, we know little about their functions within the community.[9] The *mystikoteroi* were perhaps a kind of higher cleric while the *iereis* held the rank of the common priests. After Sergios' death the Paulicians no longer had only one *didaskalos*; their leaders were now the so-called *synekdemoi*. We are not informed about the exact number of *synekdemoi*; Peter of Sicily tells us only that they all had equal rights. Peter also tells us that their subordinates were known as *notarioi*.[10]

Probably after the Paulicians had fled to Arab territory, Sergios gave the instruction to write down the history of the movement. The circumstances that prompted this instruction also apparently affected the form of the history. At the time, the Paulicians were persecuted by the orthodox Byzantines, and they were divided into two parties following two different leaders. Not Sergios himself but his opponent Baanes was the one who had grown up within the Paulician community, and Baanes followed the former

[7] See chapters 170–74 of the *History* for the fight and chapters 179–81 for the circumstances of Sergios's death. We learn the name of the murderer and the way Sergios was killed, but no motive is given; only the fact that the hostility between the two parties grew after Sergios' death suggests a connection.

[8] See Lemerle, 'Pauliciens', 72 and note 63.

[9] See Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes', 387 note 8 for suggestions on these titles and functions.

[10] *History*, chapters 182–3.

Paulician leaders in direct succession while Sergios was an outsider. The few preserved citations from Sergios' letters and apparently reliable information about the Paulicians from other sources indicate that Sergios promoted himself as a successor to the apostle Paul, who had taught 800 years before him. Like Paul, Sergios travelled extensively in order to disseminate the faith. On his travels he probably founded new Paulician communities. He wrote letters to these communities as well as to individuals to propagate his religious doctrine and his view on specific matters and problems. He also named himself Tychikos after one of Pauls's friends.

To become a Paulician leader, Sergios also required a kind of legitimation. Baanes appealed to the former leader Joseph; Sergios' teacher was the Paulician woman mentioned earlier.[11] As we saw, the dialogue between Sergios and the Paulician woman recorded in the *History* emphasized the importance of the reading of the holy scriptures rather than relying on the interpretations of priests; the *History* also informs us about some essentials of the Paulician doctrine. According to this source, the beginnings of the Paulician movement go back to the seventh century when, 600 years after the apostle Paul, a certain Constantine, who lived in a village in Armenia called Mananalis,[12] obtained from a prisoner of war two books, a copy of the gospels and a volume of the so-called *apostolos*. He read the books and decided that no other book should be used except for these two.[13] This legend about the origins of the movement coincides with the message we could take from the conversation Sergios had with the Paulician woman. The main concern of both Sergios and Constantine is to go back to the origins of Christianity, more precisely to that kind of Christian community Paul had outlined in some of his letters to the newly founded Christian communities. The use of a chronology based on Paul also corresponds: Constantine is said to have founded his new movement 600 years after Paul, while the missionary activities of Sergios are described as taking place 800 years after the travels of the same apostle. Like all subsequent Paulician leaders, Constantine took the name of one of the companions of the apostle Paul and renamed himself Silvanus.

As the story about Constantine continues, we find more parallels with the beginnings of Christianity as narrated in the New Testament. After he had taught the Paulician doctrine for twenty-seven years, Constantine-Silvanus was stoned by his own adherents at the order and in the presence of a Byzantine official named Symeon.[14] This Symeon is said to have learned a lot during his stay with the Paulicians. After the murder of

[11] Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 199–205.

[12] On which, see A.A.M. Bryer, 'Excursus on Mananalis, Samosata of Armenia and Paulician Geography', in Bryer and Herrin, *Iconoclasm*, 83–4.

[13] *History*, chapters 94–5 and 101.

[14] *History*, chapters 102–5.

Constantine-Silvanus, he went back to Constantinople, but returned to the Paulicians three years later and became their next leader.[15] Here the early Christian parallels are with the protomartyr Stephen, who was stoned to death in presence of Saul, the future apostle Paul.[16]

Symeon, now bearing the Paulician name Titus, was also murdered: after three years of leadership he was burnt on a huge pyre together with all those members of the community who persisted in their faith. After an argument with Symeon about a citation from the letter of Paul to the Colossians, a certain Justus, who had previously thrown the deadly stone at Constantine-Silvanus, had gone to the bishop of Koloneia and told him about the movement. The bishop went to the emperor Justinian, who gave the order to consign all unrepentant Paulicians to the flames.[17]

The narratives about the first two Paulician leaders form an integrated whole in several important respects.[18] Their stories follow the example of the martyrdom of Stephen and the subsequent conversion of Saul-Paul. They were both martyrs, and it was an opponent from inside the movement who was in a way responsible for their deaths; together, Constantine-Silvanus and Symeon-Titus held the leadership for thirty years. In this they set an important precedent: according to the *History*, each Paulician leader between Symeon and Sergios also held the position for thirty years.

Comparison of the legend of the beginnings of the movement with the story of Sergios' life reveals that every major problem Sergios had to deal with during his leadership of the Paulicians was anticipated in the story about Constantine-Silvanus and Symeon. There is the inside opponent and the imminent separation; the persecutions from outside the movement by the Byzantine officials or bishops. We also may include the emphasis on legitimation, an aspect to which we shall return shortly.[19]

Between the second Paulician martyr Symeon and the appearance of their next leader there is a break, because Symeon's immediate successor Gegnesios had no direct connection with him. One of the Paulicians who escaped from the death by fire was named Paul (according to Peter of Sicily

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[15] *History*, chapters 107, 110.

[16] The analogy has been drawn already: e.g. Barnard, 'Paulicians', 76 and Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 168–72. Other parallels between the history of the Paulicians and the life of the apostle Paul as described in the Acts of the Apostles have been observed but have usually been credited to Peter's interpretation.

[17] *History*, chapters 110–11. Peter seizes every opportunity for defamation. E.g. he changes Symeon's Paulician name Titus into Kitos, after the sea-monster believed to take the shape of an island in order to lure ships to cast anchor on its back; when the crew left the ship to rest on the 'island', the monster would submerge and the crew would drown (*History*, chapter 108). The dissimulation of the monster is clearly meant to evoke the dissimulation ascribed to the Paulicians not only by Peter but also by others, as we shall see.

[18] Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 172–4, 191.

[19] For all these relations see Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 187–94 and the table at 226–7.

he was the one who was responsible for the renaming of the Manichaeans as Paulicians[20]). Paul had two sons, Gegnesios and Theodore; he appointed his son Gegnesios as the next leader and gave him the name Timothy. The other son, Theodore, became very jealous and fought his brother until the end of their lives. Both of them claimed to have a sort of spiritual legitimation for leadership; the Greek expression is χάριν εἰληφέναι θεικὴν τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος. We will encounter the same formula later in connection with the successor of Gegnesios. This grace (χάρις) – one of the crucial terms for the apostle Paul, who in his letter to the Romans says that he received grace and the apostolate (ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν)[21] – henceforth replaced martyrdom as the authoritative confirmation of the right to lead the Paulician movement.[22] But legitimation alone was not sufficient; the true leader had also to demonstrate his ability by actions. Therefore, the story continues, the Byzantine emperor, at that time Leo the Isaurian, having heard about the Paulicians, summoned Gegnesios to Constantinople and sent him to the patriarch. The examination made by the patriarch proved Gegnesios innocent of heresy; he even received a sigillion from the emperor before returning to the village of Episparis. From there he went to Mananalis, where the late Constantine-Silvanus had founded the movement. By passing the interview with the patriarch of Constantinople Gegnesios showed himself worthy of serving as a Paulician leader. He died of the bubonic plague after thirty years of leadership.[23]

Again, we find the same three elements of composition with which we are by now familiar: the legitimation, the opponent who in this case not only comes from inside but is even the brother of the acting leader, and the persecution from outside the community. The correspondence with the story of the apostle Paul is in Gegnesios' case a little less obvious, though each had to justify himself before several officials and the emperor.

Coming to the last leader before Sergios the narrative continues to follow the same model.[24] Gegnesios had a son named Zacharias. There was also a goatherd in his service whom he had found by the road when he was a baby. His name was Joseph. Again Zacharias and Joseph both claimed the right to leadership and the grace; both of them had their adherents and the movement was separated into two parties, one following Zacharias and the other following Joseph, who now called himself Epaphroditos. Once the confrontation became so heated that Zacharias threw a stone at Joseph and nearly killed him. Again we read about persecution, but now for the first time by the Arabs: both groups left the village and after a time each was

[20] *History*, chapter 112; Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 177–8.

[21] Romans 1:5.

[22] *History*, chapter 113; Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 178–9, 185.

[23] *History*, chapters 114–22; Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 179–82.

[24] *History*, chapters 123–9; Ludwig, 'Paulikianer', 183–7.

attacked. When Zacharias became aware of the Arab troops he left his people and fled on his own; the Arabs caught up with his group and killed all of them. Joseph, however, realized that the Arabs did not want the Paulicians to leave their territory and go back to the Byzantine empire, therefore he changed the direction of his trek in order to pretend to be on his way to Syria. When the Arabs reached them he told them that they were leaving their homes because of the lack of grass for the livestock. The Arabs were satisfied with this explanation and left Joseph's group in peace. In contrast to Zacharias, Joseph – like Gegnesios before him – was able to save his people from persecution and thereby to furnish evidence for his qualification by his actions.

Joseph finally returned to the village of Episparis, then within the Byzantine empire, and received a warm welcome from the Paulicians living there. An orthodox official named Krikoraches heard about the arrival of Joseph and had the house where he was staying surrounded by many of his soldiers. Warned by the Paulicians, Joseph escaped to Phrygia and finally to Antioch in Pisidia. Like Gegnesios, Joseph continued to teach for thirty years, after which he died in a village called Chortokopion. The similarities with the story of Gegnesios are evident. I only want to add that Joseph's escape from his enemies is paralleled in the life of the apostle Paul: in Damascus, Paul was able to escape from the Jews with the help of his fellow Christians.

Before we proceed to what Peter of Sicily made out of the Paulician story let us recapitulate the information that we may consider as reliable. The Paulicians appealed to the apostle Paul and tried in their communities to live in accordance with the tradition of the New Testament and with the rules Paul had written down in his letters. This relation to the apostle is evident in, and underscored by, the parallels with the life of Paul drawn in the history of the Paulician leaders. The history, which is probably better called a legend that perhaps embodies a few historical facts, was preserved by Peter of Sicily who apparently relied on an account composed under the leader Sergios in the first three decades of the ninth century, when the missionary activity of the Paulicians reached its peak. With consideration for his own situation, Sergios attached great importance to a spiritual legitimation confirmed by actions, combined with a struggle against an inside opponent and with a successful fight against or escape from the persecution of officials.

What does Peter of Sicily make of all this? The question leads us to the second part of my chapter. First and foremost, Peter is anxious to prove that the Paulicians were in fact Manichaeans who changed their name. Beyond that, he describes the Paulicians as dissemblers because, by saying one thing and meaning another, they pretend to be orthodox. They even willingly

anathemize Mani and any other Manichaean if they are asked to do so.[25] In light of this, Peter has to try very hard to make his accusation stick. He resorts to the rhetorical strategy of preceding the Paulician history with a history of Manichaeism,[26] and every piece of information about Paulician history is followed by his own orthodox interpretation or brought into relation to Manichaean doctrine.

To learn more about Peter's reasons and motivations, let us take a closer look at the other sources containing information about the Paulicians. First of all, Peter is not the only person to connect the Paulicians with the Manichaeans. Amongst others, the chronicle of Theophanes and the letters of Theodore of Stoudion make the same connection. Beyond these references, during the ninth century we find Paulicians mentioned in almost all kinds of sources: they appear in legal texts, letters, historiography and even hagiography. Though some of these might seem quite useless at first glance, they must be considered one by one to get a more detailed view of how the Byzantines thought about and dealt with the Paulician heresy.

Some of those sources, of course, have little weight beyond providing reflections of the main characteristics the Byzantines ascribed to the Paulicians. This is true especially of the hagiographical references, as the following three examples demonstrate. The *Vita Eustratii* tells the story of a known *meizoteros*, who had been accused by a Manichaean of being a Manichaean himself.[27] The Manichaean had asked for charity, but the *meizoteros*, talking to his wife and children, did not hear the man and therefore did not accede to his request. The beggar went to the godloving empress Theodora and her son Michael in order to accuse the *meizoteros* of Manichaeism. The *meizoteros* was arrested and taken to Constantinople, but was set free with the help of Eustratios after which he returned to his home town. A few points may be extrapolated from this account. First, the author of the *Vita Eustratii* refers to Manichaeans although undoubtedly he is talking about Paulicians. Second, it is dangerous to be a Manichaean; and, third, Manichaeans are vindictive and insidious.

The second example, the *Martyrdom of the forty-two martyrs of Amorion*, presents an even more negative picture of the Paulicians.[28] The military unit

[25] *History*, chapter 100, where Peter also observes that the Paulicians honour their leaders like the apostle Paul.

[26] The first part of the *History* is even longer than the second and compiled from different sources on Manichaeism. For a detailed analysis see Lemerle, 'Pauliciens', 17–26.

[27] *Βίος καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Εὐστρατίου* (*BHG* 645): ed. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα τῆς ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας* 4 (Jerusalem, 1897; repr. Brussels, 1963), 367–400 at chapter 22, 382–3. This and the following episode are quoted by Barnard, 'Paulicians', 80.

[28] *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα δύο μαρτύρων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ... παρὰ Μιχαὴλ μοναχοῦ καὶ συγκέλλου* (*BHG* 1213): eds V. Vasil'evskij and P. Nikitin, *Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk*, ser. 8, hist.-phil. cl. no. 7,2 (1905), 22–36, here 29–31.

of the leader Kallistos, one of the martyrs, included some soldiers infected with the Manichaean heresy. Kallistos tried very hard to convert them to orthodoxy by describing to them what they would have to expect in hell, and how they could be saved from that fate. But these mad people,[29] instead of being grateful, handed Kallistos over to their fellow heretics, who had already left Byzantine territory and lived with the Arabs. Kallistos was sentenced to imprisonment and put in irons. What follows has no connection with Manichaeans or Paulicians, but connects Kallistos with the martyrs of Amorion. Although the betrayal of Kallistos is set during the period when the Paulicians had intensified their military activities under Karbeas,[30] we get similar information from this text as from the *Vita Eustratii*: the Paulicians are called Manichaeans and defamed as vindictive and insidious. In the *Martyrdom*, however, it is only after Kallistos' efforts to convert them to orthodoxy that the Paulicians become dangerous.

The third and last example is presented in the *Acta Graeca* of St Makarios of Pelekete.[31] Like Kallistos, Makarios made great efforts to convert to orthodoxy the Paulicians (Παυλινιαστῶν ἤτοι Μανιχαίων), whom he met in prison waiting for their executions, by promising them everlasting hell if they would not follow him and convert to orthodoxy before their death. In at least one case he was successful. The attempt at conversion by describing the horrors of hell finds a parallel to the preceding narrative; but in the *Acts* of Makarios the Paulicians are called both Paulicians and Manichaeans, they are not described as vindictive or insidious, and they do no harm to St Makarios.

Regarding the use of the terms Paulician or Manichaean for the same heresy, it is worth examining two letters written by Theodore of Stoudion in which he argues vehemently against capital punishment for heretics.[32] In the earlier letter, written about 815–818, he refers to Paulicians and only to them, while in the later one, written about 825–826, he calls the same heretics Manichaeans only. We might therefore conclude that during the decade that separates the two letters the term Manichaean had replaced the term Paulician.

The *Chronicle* of Theophanes, completed about 815, uses either the name Paulicians or the expression 'Manichaeans, now called Paulicians' but

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[29] Instead of using the proper term *Μανιχαῖοι* they are called here *τῆς μανίας ἐπώνυμοι*, i.e. 'called after their madness'. This recalls Peter of Sicily's fondness for playing on words: see note 15 above.

[30] Karbeas became leader of the Paulicians about 843–44; see Lemerle, 'Pauliciens', 85–96, esp. 89–90.

[31] *S. Macarii monasterii Pelecetes hegumeni acta Graeca*: ed. I. van den Gheyn, *AnBoll* 16 (1897), 140–63, at 159 (chapter 14).

[32] *Theodori Studitae Epistolae*, epp. 94 and 455: ed. G. Fatouros, 1,2, CFHB ser. Berolinensis 31/1.2 (Berlin, 1992).

never the term Manichaeans alone. This indicates that the connection of Paulicians to Manichaeans had already been made, but that it still needed to be noted. In addition to some details about the resettlement of Paulicians which we may ignore in this context,[33] Theophanes provides other information concerning the Paulicians of relevance here. First, within the scope of an account of Iconoclasm where Theophanes describes Paulicians and other heretics praising Constantine V, he tells us that they were hiding their heresy by pretending to be orthodox.[34] Second, he gives an account of a debate which took place following the decision of the Emperor Michael I to inflict the death penalty on the Paulicians, with the Patriarch Nikephoros arguing in favour and Theodore of Stoudion against Michael's decision.[35]

The question of the death penalty needs further investigation. In his chapter about the first Paulician leader Constantine-Silvanus, Peter of Sicily tells us that the emperors had legally prescribed capital punishment by the sword for Manichaeans and Montanists. Their books were to be burnt and, if anyone was found to have hidden the heretical books from the officials, that person also was to be condemned to death and his property confiscated. For the Paulicians, it is clear from Theophanes as well as from Theodore of Stoudion that some of the clergy favoured capital punishment while others, like Theodore himself, argued against it. The controversy must have taken place at the time of the missionary activity of Sergios since one letter referring to this matter dates from about 815–18 and the other from about 821–26. As I have already mentioned, Theodore argues in both letters against the use of capital punishment against heretics in general and the Paulicians in particular. In his view, heretics should not be killed; one should instead make every attempt to regain them for orthodoxy until the very last moment. He states that canon law never prescribes that the sword or the scourge be used against anybody. On the authority of the New Testament Theodore also notes that those who use the sword will die by the sword. Though as we have already seen Theodore referred to the

[33] Theoph., 429 line 21. See Barnard, 'Paulicians', 77 and for the resettlement, H. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasien vom Ende des 6. bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, *BBA* 59 (Berlin, 1992), 184–6 and 203–5.

[34] Theoph., 501 lines 21–7.

[35] Theoph., 494 line 30–495 line 15. Not only Paulicians but also *Αθιγγανοι* are mentioned; we will see, however, that the law does not include them. Combining this with the information given by Theophanes (488 lines 22–6) that the emperor Nikephoros had been connected to both Paulicians and *Αθίγγανοι* makes it evident that Michael I renewed the law imposing the death penalty for Paulicians and other heretics to express opposition to the former emperor as well. P. Alexander, 'Religious Persecution and Resistence in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications', *Speculum* 52 (1977), 236–64, at 245 (repr. in idem., *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire* [London, 1978], X) relates the death penalty also 'to Byzantium's defeats during the war against the Bulgars'.

Paulicians as Paulicians in the earlier letter and as Manichaeans in the later one, there is no doubt that in both cases he is talking about Paulicians. Like Theodore, Theophanes made no real distinction between Paulicians and Manichaeans and referred to 'Manichaeans now called Paulicians'; unlike Theodore, Theophanes sided with the Patriarch Nikephoros who, according to Theophanes, supported the Emperor Michael I's decision to inflict capital punishment on the Paulicians. Accordingly, Theophanes calls those who did not favour the death penalty but instead believed in a tactic of conversion 'ill-advised'. The sources that consider the use of capital punishment for the Paulicians come to different conclusions, but they share two important points of similarity. The first is the use of the terms Manichaeans and Paulicians to identify the same group; the second is that the Paulicians are treated exclusively as heretics: there is no mention of any military expeditions against them.

Those who favoured the death penalty relied on earlier legal precedents. The most obvious and most commonly cited parallel to the death by the sword prescribed for Manichaeans and Montanists comes from the *ecloga* of Leo III. Its content is literally the same as the legal formula cited by Peter of Sicily.[36] But in addition the *Codex Iustinianus* prescribes that capital punishment is to be inflicted on any Manichaeans found in Byzantine territory.[37] And returning to the remaining punishments cited by Peter, we find other details shared with the *Codex Iustinianus*.[38] Manichaean books are to be burnt, and those who try to hide their books from the officials are to receive the appropriate punishment. Maximum penalty shall be inflicted upon those who pretend to have converted to orthodoxy but in fact remained heretics. One can only conclude that Peter of Sicily was well aware of the existing law when he wrote about the punishment of Manichaeans in his chapter on the first Paulician leader Constantine-Silvanus. His conflation of legal prescriptions against Manichaeans with the punishment of Paulicians conforms with the project of equating the two heresies. Once one accepts that the two heresies are identical, there is no need to disprove Paulician arguments or to promulgate new laws against them. One only has to connect the first with the second and, having accomplished that, to repeat the old arguments and to apply the existing laws against Manichaeans to the Paulicians.[39]

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[36] *History*, chapter 98: Μανιχαίους καὶ Μοντανοὺς ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθαι. L. Burgmann, ed., *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V.*, Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 10 (Frankfurt/Main, 1983), 17.52: Οἱ μανιχαῖοι καὶ οἱ μοντανοὶ ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθαι.

[37] *Codex Iustinianus* 1.5.11: ed. P. Krueger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis* 2 (Berlin, 1895), 53.

[38] *Codex Iustinianus* 1.5.16: ed. Krueger, 55f.

[39] On the general tendency of an established church to legitimize the application of old legislation to a new heresy by relating them to each other, see Alexander, 'Persecution', 253–7, with reference also to Theophanes and Peter of Sicily.

We now see why Peter of Sicily gave such a careful and detailed report of the history of the Manichaean heresy in the first part of his *History of the Paulician Heresy*. He even warns his readers in one of the first chapters that his modern Manichaeans pretend to be orthodox and that it is therefore very difficult to fight them successfully. This refers back to the paragraph cited above from the *Codex Iustinianus*; but Peter is also preparing his reader for the following section where he simply states what the Paulicians meant by their sayings instead of giving a real examination of their history and their beliefs. Peter did not invent the identification of Paulicians and Manichaeans: the *Chronicle* of Theophanes and the letters of Theodore of Stoudion date from about fifty years earlier than his own writing. He is, however, responsible for the elaboration of the pre-existing link between the new and the old heresy. The *History of the Paulician Heresy* marks the final point of a development that started at the beginning of the ninth century when Sergios began his rather successful missionary activities. Characteristics attributed by Peter to the Paulicians – they are dissembling and deceitful, unconvincible and insidious – can be found in other sources as well. However, the way that Peter mixed the genuine Paulician material he had at hand with the common orthodox interpretation left almost no room for defence of the heresy and no chance for discussion. Ultimately, the *History* is essentially a justification of the Byzantine reaction against the Paulicians.

For the period after Sergios' death, we have little further information about the Paulician religion. In fact, there is a gap of about ten years without any allusions to Paulicians except for the few hagiographical references mentioned above. Only from 843/4 onwards are we again comparatively well informed about their activities. At that time a certain Karbeas, a Paulician who reportedly first held the position of a *protomandator* of the Anatolikon theme and afterwards was a *strategos* of the same theme, is said to have fled together with 5,000 fellow-believers into Arab territory because the empress Theodora tried with great cruelty to force the Paulicians back to orthodoxy. Karbeas became the leader of the Paulicians, and he represents a new stage in Paulician history. Under his leadership, the Paulicians seem to have moved from the defensive to the offensive: probably in connection with Arab troops, they began to make raids into Byzantine territory. On several occasions, Byzantine emperors and generals attempted to fight the Paulicians in order to capture their capital Tephrike.

The events that took place at that time are of no further interest for my purposes, except that we can observe that the increasing military activities on the part of the Paulicians were answered in kind by the Byzantines. What I want to make clear is the following. The Paulician movement began as a simple heresy. The intention was merely to reform Christianity by recalling the origins of Christian faith and especially by reviving the teaching of the apostle Paul. On the authority of Paul himself, the Paulicians were

thoroughly convinced of their own orthodoxy in its literal sense, that of adhering to the right dogma or belief. In my opinion, the Byzantine reaction to the appearance of the Paulician movement was unjustified on dogmatic grounds and inappropriate in its severity; it was based less on the deeds of the Paulicians than on the needs of ninth-century Byzantine ideology.

4. The rehabilitation of the Emperor Theophilos

Athanasios Markopoulos

The idea that the Byzantine emperor, as God's viceroy on earth, should always be represented as the perfect ruler was an age-old commonplace of Byzantine political thought.[1] Thus, if for whatever reason this perfect image was tarnished, the need for intervention in order to restore it – as far as was possible – to its former condition became imperative. Such intervention, the origin of which, the texts imply, is divinely inspired, could be made even while the emperor was still alive, circumstances allowing. The rehabilitation of the damaged prestige of the occupant of the imperial throne was, however, usually effected posthumously, with the unsurprising prerequisite that the former ruler's dynasty continue to be in power. Within the context of dynastic propaganda, texts would thus appear extolling the dead ruler and advancing various (and largely spurious) excuses for decisions made or errors committed. For example, the rehabilitation of Basil I (867–86), founder of the Macedonian dynasty, began in fact during his lifetime and followed an ascending course until it acquired major proportions in the accounts of the 'official' historical works written for the dynasty a century later. In these accounts every effort was made to remove the stigma of the murder of Michael III (842–67) from Basil's record.[2] The results of this enterprise were not particularly spectacular, judging from the account of Ioannes Zonaras, who remarked that texts on

[1] See in particular the important miscellaneous volume edited by H. Hunger, *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild*, Wege der Forschung 341 (Darmstadt, 1975); also A. Kazhdan, 'The Aristocracy and the Imperial Ideal', in M. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XII Centuries*, BAR International Series 221 (Oxford, 1984), 43–57; G. Dagron, 'Lawful Society and Legitimate Power: Ἔννομος πολιτεία, ἔννομος ἀρχή', in A. E. Laiou and D. Simon, eds, *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth–Twelfth Centuries* (Washington DC, 1994), 27–51 and the recent G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996), 33–73 and *passim*.

[2] See below p. 48 and note 61.

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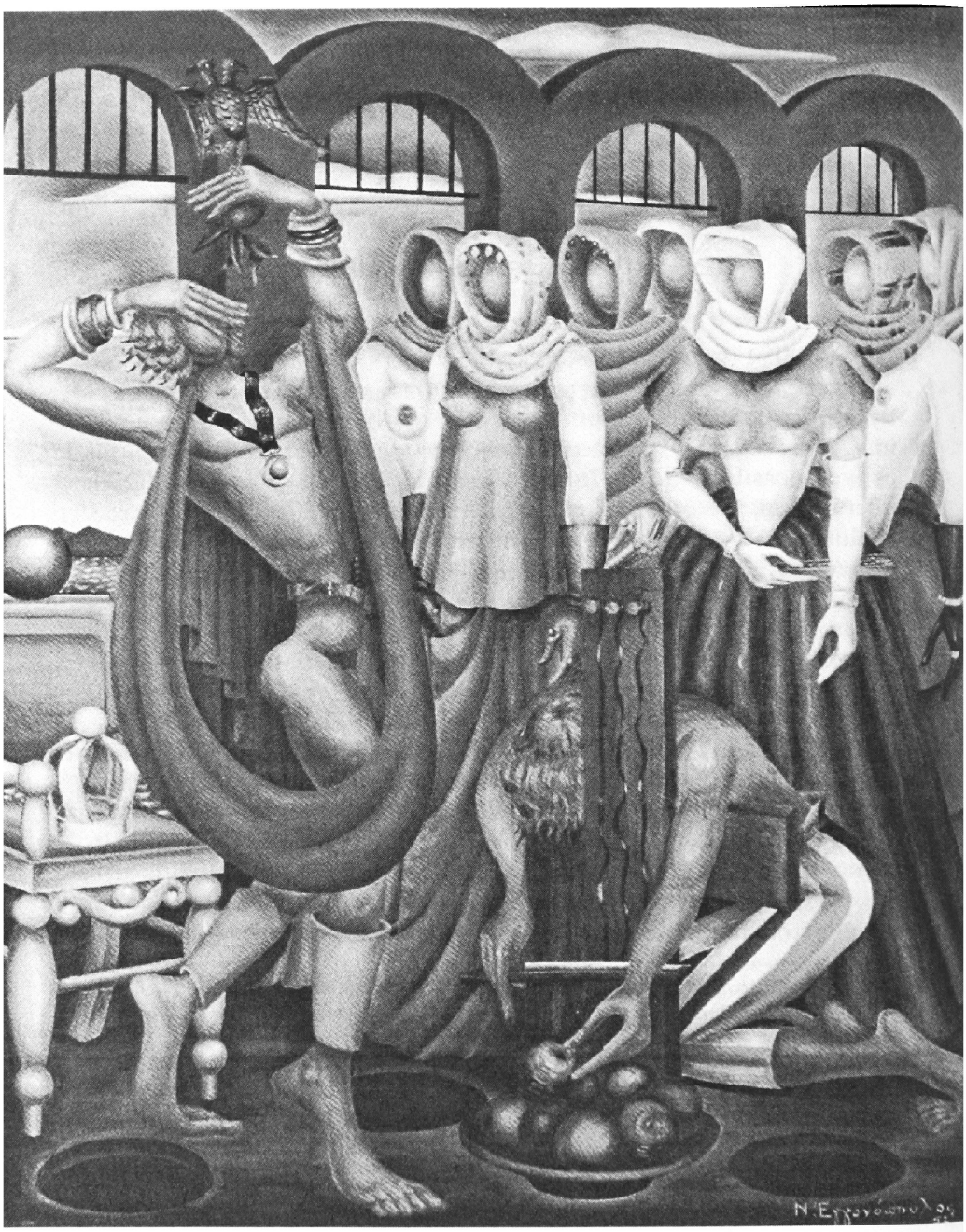

Figure 4.1 Theophilos, *by N. Engonopoulos (1952) (oil painting 92cm × 73cm). Private collection (photo: M. Skiadaressis).*

Basil I contained fabulous stories.[3] The rehabilitation of the imperial image of Leo VI (886–912), tarnished by the problem of his fourth marriage, took place just before his death, by means of a text that was written either by himself or, more probably, under his supervision.[4]

Theophilos, last of the iconoclast emperors (829–42), left a strong impression for many and varied reasons on subsequent generations.[5] His impulsive and flirtatious character, his marriage to Theodora following the celebrated bride-show where the main part was played not by the empress-to-be but by Kasia, the high sense of justice and the way in which he dispensed it, his interest in education, his building programme, and his iconoclast convictions combined with the episode of the Graptoi in which his knowledge of verse metrical rules does not go unobserved,[6] all serve to compose an attractive personality (Figure 4.1).[7] A century after his death, Theophanes Continuatus is mostly positive, as Romilly Jenkins pointed out: 'Here the whole man is before us, with his restless pursuit of justice, his strong religious prejudices ... his aestheticism, his scholarship, his one lapse from conjugal fidelity, his insistence that his subjects should cut their hair, his curious prying into the booths of his marketplace to inquire into the current prices of wine and comestibles'.[8] There can be little

[3] Ed. T. Büttner-Wobst 3 (Bonn, 1897), 407–8.

[4] N. Oikonomides, 'La dernière volonté de Léon VI au sujet de la tétragamie', *BZ* 56 (1963), 46–52, and idem, 'La "préhistoire" de la dernière volonté de Léon VI au sujet de la tétragamie', *BZ* 56 (1963), 265–70 (both repr. in his *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance, VIIe–XVe s.* [London, 1976], studies IV–V). In its content note also the well-known mosaic of the narthex of Hagia Sophia, which Oikonomides ('Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Saint Sophia', *DOP* 30 [1976], 153–72) attributed to Nicholas Mystikos (post 912), whereas A. Schminck ('"Rota tu volubilis". Kaisermacht und Patriarchenmacht in Mosaiken', in L. Burgmann, M.T. Fögen, A. Schminck, eds, *Cupido Legum* [Frankfurt, 1985], 211–34) attributed it to the time of Photios; see also the observations of Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, 129–31.

[5] See C. Diehl, 'La légende de l'empereur Théophile', *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 4 (1931), 33–7; also J. Rosser, 'Theophilos (829–842): Popular Sovereign, Hated Persecutor', *Byzantiaka* 3 (1983), 37–56, esp. 41–2.

[6] 'And if they [the verses] are not good, it does not matter', he points out to his prime minister: Pseudo-Symeon, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 641; see also Georgius Continuatus, ibid., 807.

[7] See e.g. G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, 3rd edn (Munich, 1963), 173; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), 263–329, esp. 327–9. Also K. Nikolaou, 'Οι γυναίκες στο βίο και τα έργα του Θεοφίλου', *Σύμμεικτα* 9/2, Papers in Memory of D.A. Zakythinos (1994), 137–51, and most recently N.-C. Koutrakou, *La propagande impériale byzantine. Persuasion et réaction (VIIIe-Xe siècles)* (Athens, 1994 [=1996]), 118–19, with additional bibliography.

[8] R.J.H. Jenkins, 'The Classical Background of the *Scriptores post Theophanem*', *DOP* 8 (1954), 11–30, esp. 17–18 (repr. in idem, *Studies on Byzantine History of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* [London, 1970], study IV); see also Rosser, 'Theophilos', 42 note 46. On the third book of Theophanes Continuatus, which is devoted to Theophilos, see the impressive new commentary of J. Signes Codoñer, *El periodo del Segundo Iconoclasmo en Theophanes Continuatus* (Amsterdam, 1995), 359-619, with updated bibliography. Cf. also below p. 40 and note 12.

doubt that many of these characteristics fit the image of the ideal Byzantine monarch. It is also significant that the iconoclast creed of Theophilos does not appear to have influenced negatively the judgment of the compiler of the third book of Theophanes Continuatus.[9] I do not wholly share Jenkins' view that behind this portrait may be discerned the use of classical models;[10] rather, as I hope to demonstrate, the favourable temper of both Theophanes Continuatus and others towards Theophilos bears all the characteristics of an *encomion*, which was written with some peculiarities for clearly political reasons.[11]

If the memory of Theophilos was kept alive among future generations of Byzantine subjects, this was due chiefly to his identification with the fair dispensation of justice.[12] It is known that when the emperor came to the throne, he performed a deed that was without precedent: he ordered the execution of the murderers of Leo V, the emperor who, it should be remembered, had proclaimed his father, Michael II (820–29), emperor. This remarkable action may perhaps have been motivated by theological concerns, but it was also motivated by clearly political considerations, by means of which he hoped to remove the stigma of murder from the name of the Amorian dynasty, awarding justice to all, regardless of their connections or likely relations.[13] The image of a *just* Theophilos crops up in all the historical sources written in the tenth century, as well as later.[14] The same can be discerned in other texts too, including the well-known remark made by Timarion, who meets Theophilos in Hades alongside Minos and Aeacus, where he is described as 'most just'.[15] There can be little

[9] See the interesting observations of J.N. Ljubarskij, 'Man in Byzantine Historiography from John Malalas to Michael Psellos', *DOP* 46, A. Cutler and S. Franklin, eds, *Homo Byzantinus, Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan* (1992),177–86, esp. 185–6.

[10] Jenkins, 'Classical Background', 17–18, 23–5.

[11] See Ljubarskij, 'Man in Byzantine Historiography', 186.

[12] See the recent contribution of A.E. Laiou, 'Law, Justice, and the Byzantine Historians: Ninth to Twelfth Centuries', in Laiou and Simon, eds, *Law and Society in Byzantium*, 151–85, esp. 151–6, 161–2.

[13] P. Karlin-Hayter, 'L'enjeu d'une rumeur', *JÖB* 41 (1991), 85–111, esp. 104.

[14] 'He was strict about justice, so that all evil men feared him and all good men admired him, for the ones saw him as a just man and hater of evil, while the others saw that he was severe and strict ... He made himself available to everyone, but most especially to those unjustly treated, so that they could relate freely the injustices done to them, without being hindered by evil men who feared retribution ... Thus did he show great attention and diligence toward public matters, both in the courts of justice and, as we have said, on his weekly rides': Theoph. Cont., 86–8; tr. Laiou, 'Law, Justice', 151. Cf. Signes Codoñer, *El periodo del Segundo Iconoclasmo*, 369–71. See also John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*: *CFHB* 5, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), 50–51, and Zonaras, ed. Büttner-Wobst 3 (Bonn, 1897) 355–8, 364.

[15] R. Romano, *Timarione* (Naples, 1974), 76. Cf. also Diehl, 'La légende', 33–4; Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 327 note 452, and Laiou, 'Law, Justice', 156 and note 15.

doubt that the connection of Theophilos with the image of the just king constitutes an essential part of the process of his rehabilitation.

If we look closely at texts of the ninth century it may be seen that for a large part of the century Theophilos was recognised not as just, but merely as iconoclast. The work of George the Monk, the only historical source of the period that deals, albeit cursorily, with Theophilos' reign, devotes itself, as a defendor of icon veneration, exclusively to insults directed against Theophilos, without the slightest reserve or hesitation.[16] Hagiography leads us to the same conclusions: 'savage in ways', 'harsh in mind', 'possessed by unbridled anger against those of orthodox faith who opposed his impiety', 'profane',[17] 'god-warring',[18] 'demented in opinion', 'wretched', 'fit tool of the devil', 'vagabond',[19] are just some of the characteristic epithets used against him. Given the proximity of the date of composition of these texts to the iconoclast period, their attitude is hardly surprising.

It would be wrong, however, to view the entire ninth century as being without exception hostile towards the last iconoclast emperor. There are a number of examples of a different attitude even very shortly after the conclusion of the iconoclast controversy. In the B version of the well known *Martyrdom of Amorion* (*BHG* 1212) the writer speaks with praise of both Theodora and Theophilos, calling the latter 'great autokrator', 'brave' and 'highly active'.[20] Alexander Kazhdan dated the *Martyrdom* to the late ninth or the early tenth century;[21] more convincingly, Sophia Kotzabassi has set the year 856 as marking the *terminus ante quem* for the composition, for reasons of political expediency that concern Theodora, who was then still the empress at the side of Michael III.[22] Also, the famous *Epistula synodica ad Theophilum* (*BHG* 1386) was very probably composed after the end of Iconoclasm (843) in order to restore the posthumous fame of the emperor.[23]

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[16] George the Monk, ed. C. de Boor 2 (Leipzig, 1904), 797 lines 19–20, 798 lines 6–13, 799 lines 10–13, 800 line 2–801 line 3. See also note 23 below.

[17] M. B. Cunningham, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 1 (Belfast, 1991), 72 lines 20, 21–2, 24.

[18] D. Papachryssanthou, 'Un confesseur du Second Iconoclasme. La Vie du patrice Nicétas († 836)', *TM* 3 (1968), 327 (4).

[19] A. Markopoulos, 'Βίος τῆς αὐτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας (*BHG* 1731)', *Σύμμεικτα* 5 (1983), 261 (5 lines 18–19), 263 (8 line 1); also Koutrakou, *La propagande impériale*, 440–41.

[20] Ed. V. Vasilevskij and P. Nikitin, 'Skazanija o 42 amorijskich mucenikach', in *Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* 8, 7/2 (1905), 11 lines 23–5.

[21] A. Kazhdan, 'Hagiographical Notes 14. Collective Death and Individual Deeds', *Byz* 56 (1986), 151–60 (repr. in idem, *Authors and Texts in Byzantium* [Aldershot, 1993], study VI).

[22] S. Kotzabassi, 'Το Μαρτύριο των ΜΒ' Μαρτύρων του Αμορίου. Αγιολογικά και υμνολογικά κείμενα', *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Τεύχος Τμήματος Φιλολογίας* 2 (1992), 109–53, esp. 124–6.

[23] An apocryphal version of the *Letter*, erroneously attributed to John Damascene (*BHG* 1387), is also preserved; as is well known, this text is one of the sources of George the Monk. For

It is clear that a first step towards the rehabilitation of Theophilos in fact began while the Amorian dynasty was still in power.

However, the major efforts to restore the reputation of Theophilos were made by a number of texts and narratives of the late ninth to the late tenth century. These texts contain either clearly favourable references to Theophilos or were in fact specially written for him, and they deliberately set out to mend his image and restore his reputation. As the texts and passages in question are many and varied, I shall attempt to codify them.

Concentrating on purely historical writings, both Theophanes Continuatus and Pseudo-Symeon recount that Theodora begged the church figures who met in March 843 in order to restore the veneration of icons not to anathematize Theophilos, and besides this to grant him 'forgiveness and amnesty from God for his wrongdoing'.[24] This request was accompanied by a reminder of the fact that shortly before his death the emperor had in fact disowned the heresy of Iconoclasm and 'embraced the holy icons'.[25] The ecclesiastics were accordingly moved, and gave assurances to Theodora in writing that Theophilos would indeed receive God's forgiveness.[26] Directly related to this account is an interesting passage from the *Life of Theodora*, according to which Theophilos, while suffering on his deathbed, was visited by Theoktistos who gave to the emperor 'the enkolpion which was hidden in his garment'; Theophilos embraced it, and immediately became calm and relieved, dying in peace.[27] It is quite possible that the historian's accounts of Theodora's persistence in trying to secure forgiveness for Theophilos (not mentioned, however, in the *Life of Theodora*, Genesios or the various versions of the Logothetes' *Chronicle*) contain some grain of

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both versions see the new edition with German translation of H. Gauer, *Texte zur byzantinischen Bilderstreit. Der Synodalbrief der drei Patriarchen des Ostens von 836 und seine Verwandlung in sieben Jahrhunderten*, Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik 1 (Frankfurt, 1994), whose datings I do not share. See also the very useful S. Gero, 'Jannes and Jambres in the *Vita Stephani Iunioris* (*BHG* 1666)', *AnBoll* 113 (1995), 281–92, esp. 287 note 26. From the recent bibliography on the subject see R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (London, 1985), 121–31, 261–2; S. Gero, 'The Alexander Legend in Byzantium: Some Literary Gleanings', *DOP* 46 (1992), 83–7, esp. 83–4, and *ODB* 2, 1219–20.

[24] Theoph. Cont., 152–4; citation at 152. Pseudo-Symeon: ed. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 650–51.

[25] Pseudo-Symeon: ed. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 651; Theoph. Cont., 153–4. Cf. J.B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I* (London, 1912), 148–9.

[26] Pseudo-Symeon: ed. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 651; Theoph. Cont., 153–4.

[27] Markopoulos, 'Βίος Θεοδώρας', 264–5 (8 lines 9–42). See more recently the interesting paper of M. Vinson, 'The Terms ἐγκόλπιον and τενάντιον and the Conversion of Theophilus in the *Life of Theodora* (*BHG* 1731)', *GRBS* 36 (1995), 89–99, esp. 91, where there is an English translation of this passage. As to the text published by Combefis, which is used by Vinson, see below p. 43 and note 29. The *Life of Theodora* was written post-872: see Markopoulos, 'Βίος Θεοδώρας', 251–5; Kazhdan, 'Collective Death', 154; P. Karlin-Hayter, 'La mort de Théodora', *JÖB* 40 (1990), 205–8, esp. 208.

truth, and can be linked to her desire to see the dynasty continued unbroken from Theophilos to Michael III, despite the iconoclast controversy.[28]

The account just discussed is also found in a number of versions transmitted in hagiographical texts. These are the *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* (*BHG* 1732–34k),[29] the *Acta of David, Symeon and George from Lesbos* (*BHG* 494),[30] and, lastly, the *Life of St Eirene of Chrysobalanton* (*BHG* 952).[31] The first of these texts, which has enjoyed a rich manuscript tradition,[32] is by far the most important. On reading it one is struck by the obvious intention of the author to extol the saintly virtues of Theodora, without at all giving second place to Theophilos. And while Theodora's entreaties to the church recorded in *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* (28–30) present many parallels with the chronicle narratives, the absolution of Theophilos is achieved by other means: according to the text, the patriarch Methodios, having heard the empress' request, went to the church of Hagia Sophia where he prayed with other church dignitaries and a large crowd of ordinary laymen for the salvation of Theophilos. The anonymous author of the *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* records the names of the distinguished iconodules who prayed alongside Methodios on that March evening of 843; they include both living figures, such as Ioannikios, Michael Synkellos, Theophanes Graptos, and others who were longsince dead, such as Theodore of Stoudion (d. 826), Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818), and Theodore Graptos (d. 841).[33] It would seem that the latter were added to the list in order simply to impress the readership, which apparently was

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[28] See the remarks of J. Gouillard, 'Le synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire', *TM* 2 (1967), 1–316, esp. 124–5; cf. V. Grumel and J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople* (Paris, 1989), no. 415 and Vinson, 'The Terms', 89 and note 2, 90.

[29] Text: W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (Petersburg, 1891), 19–39. Another version of this text was edited by Fr. Combefis from an as yet unidentified manuscript: *Graeco-latinae patrum Bibliothecae novum auctarium* 2 (Paris, 1648), 715A–43A (*BHG* 1734); see Regel, *Analecta*, x and Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 415. I am indebted to Mrs Rodi Guenakou-Borovilou, who very kindly photocopied Combefis' text for me during her research in the Vatican Library. The *BHG* 1734a version of the same text edited by F. Halkin, 'Deux impératrices de Byzance, II. L'impératrice Sainte Théodora (†867)', *AnBoll* 106 (1988), 28–34, adds nothing to our investigation.

[30] Text: I. van den Gheyn, 'Acta graeca ss. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo', *AnBoll* 18 (1899), 209–59; new edition by I.M. Phountoulis, *Λεσβιακόν ἑορτολόγιον. Γ'. Οἱ ὅσιοι αὐτάδελφοι Δαβίδ, Συμεών καί Γεώργιος οἱ ὁμολογηταί* (Athens, 1961). See also below p. 46 and note 53.

[31] Text: J. O. Rosenqvist, *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 1 (Uppsala, 1986); see also Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 415.

[32] Regel, *Analecta*, v, xi; see also F. Halkin, *Auctarium BHG* (Brussels, 1969), 179; idem, *Novum Auctarium BHG* (Brussels, 1984), 201–2 (nos 1733–34c).

[33] *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* 31–2; cf. Combefis, *Novum auctarium*, 734A–B. See Gouillard, 'Synodikon', 123–4, 145–6; Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 415; and below p. 47. The source for this list was probably the *Life of Theodora*: Markopoulos, 'Βίος Θεοδώρας', 262 (6 lines 1–13)

not in a position to check the accuracy of the account. After finishing the prayer, Methodios composed a 'tomos', in which the names of the iconoclasts were recorded, including that of Theophilos, and then 'having sealed it with all due care, he placed it below the altar cloth'.[34] However, on the next day when, at the request of an angel, Methodios went to see the document again, he discovered that the name of Theophilos had been struck off the list.[35]

Since this picture of the *deus ex machina*[36] removal of the name of Theophilos from the list of heretics was not sufficient to give him the status, beyond that of good Christian, of the perfect ruler as well, a second text entitled *De Theophili imperatoris benefactis* (*BHG* 1735),[37] comes to fill the gap. It is here that the worldly, secular, Theophilos, appears, with all his well-known qualities: the fair dispensation of justice, protection of the poor, concern for building projects, etc. As Regel pointed out in the introduction to his edition,[38] this account presents many parallels with the chronicles of the tenth century that cover the period in question. In my view, the *De Theophili imperatoris benefactis* originates, if not from these same chronographical works, at least from the text which served as their source, that is, Chronicle B, according to Treadgold's estimation.[39] Moreover, the author of the *De Theophili imperatoris benefactis* was aware of the fact that Theophilos had already been granted forgiveness from God,[40] a fact that supports my view on the sources and their origin.

At this juncture it should be pointed out that although the rehabilitation of Theophilos is essentially the same in both the hagiographical and historical texts, the passage from history to hagiography brought about a radical change in atmosphere, while, on account of divine intervention, the events are thus awarded much greater authority. Of the other two saints' lives that mention these events, only the *Life of St Eirene of Chrysobalanton* gives a brief account of the events discussed here, mentioning the removal of the name Theophilos from the list of heretics.[41] The *Acta* of the saints of Lesbos display no knowledge of the removal of Theophilos' name, but they do add the following incident which serves as yet another complementary piece in the intriguing jigsaw puzzle of the iconoclast emperor: shortly before his death, 'repenting, though not absolutely', Theophilos ordered that

[34] *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* 36.

[35] *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* 37; see also Combefis, *Novum auctarium*, 735D–738A. Cf. Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 149; Gouillard, 'Synodikon', 125. See below p. 47.

[36] The characterization is Gouillard's, 'Synodikon', 125 note 45.

[37] Text: Regel, *Analecta*, 40–43; also Combefis, *Novum auctarium*, 739A–743A.

[38] Regel, *Analecta*, xix.

[39] W.T. Treadgold, 'The Chronological Accuracy of the *Chronicle* of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813–845', *DOP* 33 (1979), 157–97, esp. 193–6.

[40] *De Theophili imperatoris benefactis* 43; Combefis, *Novum auctarium*, 743A.

[41] Rosenqvist, *The Life of St Irene*, 6 (2 lines 25–9); a misinterpretation of this very passage of the *Life* is found in Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 414.

sixty pounds of gold be distributed among the sick and poor, and the same amount to all those who had 'fled to caves and mountains', or had been exiled on account of him.[42] According to the *Acta*, the only figure among the church leaders who objected to Theophilos being granted God's forgiveness was Symeon, who subsequently, however, agreed after having a dream in which Theophilos implored him for his help.[43]

Another element that lends a supernatural air to the process by which Theophilos' rehabilitation was achieved is the parallel presence of dreams, and most importantly of prophetic dreams. The intention of the dream in the texts has been analysed recently, so I shall not dwell further on the subject here.[44] Two points, however, can be made: firstly, the dream exudes insecurity and uncertainty at times of crisis, and has a strongly allegorical character, thus making its use almost imperative in hagiographical literature.[45] Secondly, it should also be pointed out that after the end of Iconoclasm dream literature enjoyed something of a vogue.[46] The hagiographical texts that contributed to the rehabilitation of the image of the last iconoclast emperor recount three different dreams, one in the *Life of Theodora* and two in the *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione*, while a very brief dream appearance, as we mentioned above,[47] of Theophilos himself occurs in the *Acta* of the saints of Lesbos.

In the *Life of Theodora* the empress herself, on waking up, sees the Theotokos holding the Christ child in her arms, while beside her angels censure and beat Theophilos, who realizes that his suffering is due to his error in endorsing Iconoclasm.[48] The empress had the dream while Theophilos was on his deathbed; the suffering ended when Theoktistos gave

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[42] Van den Gheyn, 'Acta', 244 lines 7–11; Phountoulis, *Λεσβιακόν ἑορτολόγιον*, 42 lines 32–7.

[43] Van den Gheyn, 'Acta', 244 line 29–248 line 6; Phountoulis, *Λεσβιακόν ἑορτολόγιον*, 43 line 10–45 line 32; on Symeon see Gouillard, 'Synodikon', 125, 144–7.

[44] The authoritative discussion is by E.R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge, 1965), 38–53; also D. Gigli, 'Gli onirocritici del cod. Paris. Suppl. Gr. 690', *Prometheus* 4 (1978), 65–86 and 173–88; J.S. Hanson, 'Dreams and Visions in the Greco-Roman World and Early Christianity', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2, *Principat* 23/2 (1980), 1395–1427; G. Guidorizzi, *Pseudo-Niceforo, Libro dei sogni* (Naples, 1980), esp. 7–26; S.M. Oberhelman, 'Prolegomena to the Byzantine Oneirokritika', *Byz* 50 (1980), 487–503; G. Dagron, 'Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi', in T. Gregory, ed., *I Sogni nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1985), 37–55; G. Calofonos, 'Dream Interpretations: A Byzantinist Superstition?', *BMGS* 9 (1984/85), 215–20; R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (London, 1986), 149–66, 391–403, 488–9; S.M. Oberhelman, 'The Interpretation of Dream-Symbols in Byzantine Oneirocritic Literature', *BSl* 47 (1986), 8–24 and most recently M. Loukaki, 'Το ενύπνιο του μοναχού Νείλου Μαλιασσηνού και η μονή Θεοτόκου Μακρινιτίσσης Οξείας Επισκέψεως', *Hell* 44 (1994), 341–56.

[45] Dodds, *Pagan and Christian*, 46–9, 57.

[46] Dagron, 'Rêver de Dieu', 47–51.

[47] See p. 43.

[48] Markopoulos, 'Βίος Θεοδώρας', 264 (8 lines 5–12); see also Kazhdan, 'Collective Death', 154.

his small enkolpion to the tormented emperor, who, having venerated it, then found peace.[49]

Of the two dreams contained in the *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione*, the first and by far the most striking is, again, dreamt by Theodora, and may be related to a certain degree with the dream preserved in her *Life*. Once again Theophilos is being beaten, but by those who usually undertake such duties, and who hold torture instruments in their hands, although later it is revealed that they are in fact angels. The emperor, naked and with his hands bound, is being dragged in public towards the Chalke Gate, where 'a great and terrible man' is sitting on a throne. Theodora rushes forward to beg forgiveness for her husband, which is finally granted since her faith is so great. Moreover, 'the awesome man', who of course is no other than God himself (although this is not overtly stated), recognizes that in Theodora he had heard the 'entreaties of the priests', and therefore forgives Theophilos for his iconoclast policy.[50]

The second dream contained in the same text concerns the patriarch Methodios and obviously refers to the previous dream of Theodora. The patriarch 'sees in a dream ... a shining and divine angel' who announces to him that Theophilos had been granted forgiveness by God; the rest is well known: Methodios 'alarmed, awakens from his sleep' and hastens to the church, where he discovers that the name of Theophilos has been removed from the list of heretics.[51] Finally, as we have already seen, Theophilos 'dressed in ordinary, humble attire' appears in a dream to Symeon, the exiled saint of Lesbos, on the night of his death, entreating the saint three times to help him. The saint awakens and realizes that the emperor has died.[52]

All these dreams serve to paint a very positive portrait of Theophilos for future readers, in combination of course with the various accounts contained in these same texts. However, it is necessary to investigate the reasons for the appearance of these texts, and to determine, if possible, their likely date of composition. Of the hagiographical texts we have looked at, the closest in time to the life of Theophilos are the *Acta* of the saints of Lesbos, written, as Kazhdan has convincingly argued, between 863 and 865.[53] Furthest from the date of Theophilos is the *Life of St Eirene of Chrysobalanton*, dated to no earlier than c.980.[54] As for the chroniclers Theophanes Continuatus

[49] See above p. 42.

[50] *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* 33–35; see also Combefis, *Novum auctarium*, 734D–735C; Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 149.

[51] *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* 36–37; see also Combefis, *Novum auctarium*, 735D–738A; above p. 44.

[52] Van den Gheyn, 'Acta', 242 line 32–243 line 3; Phountoulis, *Λεσβιακόν ἑορτολόγιον*, 41 lines 33–40. Cf. Gouillard, 'Synodikon', 125.

[53] A. P. Kazhdan, 'Hagiographical Notes 7. The Exact Date of the Life of David, Symeon and George', *Byz* 54 (1984), 185–8 (repr. in idem, *Authors and Texts*, study IV).

[54] Rosenqvist, *The Life of St Irene*, xxviii.

and Pseudo-Symeon, it is common knowledge that they wrote their works after 950.[55] We may therefore assume that the attempts to rehabilitate Theophilos and to distance him from the Iconoclast movement must have begun, as we have already seen, at least as early as the reign of his son, Michael III (842–67); by the last quarter of the tenth century, his rehabilitation had become a *fait accompli*.

A key factor perhaps in our investigation is the date of the *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* and the *De Theophili imperatoris benefactis*. Regel has dated their composition to the years of the reign of Basil I, basing his conclusion on a single phrase of the *De Theophili imperatoris benefactis*, where the author of the work states that the friend of a *praepositus*, later executed by Theophilos, gave him eyewitness accounts of the many good deeds of the emperor.[56] In most other texts, such a phrase would be decisive for a dating. However, we have seen that the *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* presents us with serious reasons to doubt its reliability, with the flagrant mixture of living and dead ecclesiastics who are recorded as praying alongside the patriarch Methodios for the salvation of Theophilos' soul.[57] This point suggests that the author had few qualms about distorting the truth in order to achieve his goal. The date of composition of the work in fact lies far from the time of the events it records, when the mixture of dead and living figures described at the time of Theophilos death could no longer be checked by the chronicler's audience.[58]

Another interesting attempt to date the two works that eulogize Theophilos was made by Kazhdan, who suggested that they should probably be dated to the tenth century, and need to be viewed (though with a degree of caution) as counter-propaganda aimed against the policies of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos.[59] While I agree with this dating, I would like to suggest that efforts to date the works concerned should not be centred on the internal problems that Constantine VII was facing. Rather, I believe that the eulogy for Theophilos is not the result of a single chronological moment, but of a process which lasted for a considerable length of time.[60] Here one may draw a parallel with the rehabilitation of

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[55] See e.g. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* 1 (Munich, 1978), 339–43, 354–7.

[56] Regel, *Analecta*, xii–xiii. The *terminus ante quem* for both works is the year 1111 (ibid., xiii; Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 415). The execution of the *praepositus* is mentioned in the *Patria* of Constantinople: see G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, Bibliothèque Byzantine, Études 8 (Paris, 1984), 167.

[57] See above p. 44.

[58] Rosenqvist (*The Life of St Irene*, xxiv and note 6) erroneously, I think, dated the *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* as well as the *De Theophili imperatoris benefactis* to immediately after the restoration of icon veneration in 843.

[59] Kazhdan, 'Collective Death', 154.

[60] See Gouillard, 'Synodikon', 133.

the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, Basil I. As is known, the picture of Basil I in the pro-Macedonian literature presents a steadily ascending course from the ninth to the tenth century.[61] The humble and poor Basil who is compared with David in the *Laudatory Poem* written c.877,[62] was to become the forebear of the line of the Arsakids in Leo VI's account in 888.[63] In the next century we read that Basil's mother was descended from Constantine the Great himself, and had seen many dreams and divine signs foretelling a brilliant future for her son.[64] Leo VI informs us that when the young Basil arrived in Constantinople he found shelter in the monastery of St Diomede;[65] this story was radically transformed in the tenth-century chronicle to include the celebrated dreams of the monk of the monastery (but not of Basil, as Leo claimed[66]) before he was to receive the emperor-to-be with mixed feelings of profound respect and awe.[67]

The process of the rehabilitation of Theophilos also lasted a long time, showing a similar ascending course. It began hesitantly, on account of the emperor's iconoclast past, with the *Epistula synodica ad Theophilum* and the entreaty of the empress Theodora on his behalf to the church dignitaries for absolution and amnesty, already in the mid-ninth century. Later, when the events of the ninth century had started to recede into the past, most probably in the tenth century but well before the composition of the *Life of St Eirene of Chrysobalanton* (980), the main core of the initial narrative was enriched with new elements. It is to this period that we should attribute the appearance of the Holy Fathers, irrespective of whether they were in fact alive at the time or not, praying for the salvation of Theophilos; the removal of Theophilos' name, after divine intervention, from the list of iconoclast heretics drawn up by Methodios; the narrative of the two impressive dreams, above all that of Theodora, but also that of Methodios, both contained in the *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione*; and the widespread acceptance of accounts of the just Theophilos, already circulating in the ninth century.

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[61] Among more recent studies on the subject the following should be singled out: P.A. Agapitos, 'Η εἰκόνα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα Βασιλείου Α' στή φιλομακεδονική γραμματεία 867–959', *Hell* 40 (1989), 285–322; A. Markopoulos, 'An Anonymous Laudatory Poem in Honor of Basil I', *DOP* 46 (1992), 225–32, esp. 226–8; idem, 'Constantine the Great in Macedonian historiography: models and approaches', in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines* (Aldershot, 1994), 159–70, esp. 160–62, 169–70; also Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, 201–10. See also above p. 37.

[62] Markopoulos, 'Laudatory Poem', 226–8.

[63] A. Vogt and I. Hausherr, *Oraison funèbre de Basile I par son fils Léon VI le Sage*, OC 26/1 (Rome, 1932), 44.

[64] See Agapitos, 'Η εἰκόνα', 306–19; Markopoulos, 'Constantine the Great', 162–6.

[65] Vogt and Hausherr, *Oraison funèbre*, 50–52.

[66] Ibid., 50.

[67] See the classic G. Moravcsik, 'Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I', *DOP* 16 (1962), 61–126, esp. 119–21 (repr. in idem, *Studia Byzantina* [Amsterdam, 1967], 147–220).

The question arises: what accounts for this posthumous rehabilitation of the last iconoclast emperor in the tenth century? Although it is hard for us to be absolutely certain today, I have the impression that both the texts that eulogize Theophilos (the *De Theophili imperatoris absolutione* and the *De Theophili imperatoris benefactis*), as well as those passages contained in the chronicles, comprise a whole possessing a specifically internal dynamic that whitewashes the image of the ruler; it employs techniques that, by the tenth century, are well-tried (dreams and stories where fantasy and reality make up a new whole), while they invoke the stock virtues handed down by classical rhetoric that serve to characterize the Byzantine monarch. Do they perhaps comprise a construct, for purely dynastic reasons, of a new, distinctly impressive image of Theophilos, before the comparatively negative (according to the political line of the Macedonian dynasty) reign of his son and successor, Michael III? If this view can be considered correct, then it may be easier to understand why the later historiography reserves such a striking similarity of character and deeds for Theophilos and Basil I.

5. The imperial thought-world of Leo VI, the non-campaigning emperor of the ninth century

Shaun Tougher

Of the emperors of ninth-century Byzantium all but one went on military campaign. Nikephoros I (802–11) was killed on campaign against the Bulgars.[1] Michael I (811–13) also saw active service against the Bulgarians,[2] as did his successor Leo V (813–20).[3] Michael II (820–829), the founder of the Amorian dynasty, took the field during the internal struggle with Thomas the Slav.[4] Theophilos (829–42) is renowned for his campaigns on the eastern frontier,[5] and his son Michael III (842–67) followed in his footsteps, being famously absent from Constantinople in 860 at the time of the first Russian attack.[6] Basil I (867–86), the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, also pursued campaigns in the east.[7] The exception is Leo VI (886–912), the son of Basil I; he never once campaigned in a reign that stretched over 25 years, spanning the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth. In this respect Leo has more in common with the ninth-century empresses Eirene (797–802) and Theodora (regent for Michael III, 842–56). Why was Leo an emperor who avoided a campaigning role, and how does this intersect with his conception of his role as emperor, his imperial 'thought-world'?

The fact that Leo was, at best, an 'armchair general', or at worst neglectful of the military responsibilities of an emperor, has certainly not gone unnoticed by Byzantinists, though the peculiarity of it in the context of ninth-century history has generally not been noted. Three main explanations have

[1] W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), 170–74.
[2] R.J.H. Jenkins, *Byzantium. The Imperial Centuries AD 610–1071* (London, 1976), 128.
[3] Jenkins, *Imperial Centuries*, 131.
[4] Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 235, 240.
[5] Jenkins, *Imperial Centuries*, 149.
[6] Jenkins, *Imperial Centuries*, 161.
[7] Jenkins, *Imperial Centuries*, 191.

been propounded as to why Leo shunned an active campaigning role. These are first that he was sickly; second that he was a pacifist; and third that he simply was not interested in military matters. These suggestions however emerge as inadequate on closer scrutiny. The theory that it was Leo's health that barred him from a military role seems on the surface reasonable enough.[8] Certainly at various points in his reign Leo was reputed to be ill. The emperor's Homily 21 on St Nicholas thanks the saint and another, unnamed, for salvation from a serious disease.[9] His death in May 912 was due to a wasting disease that had afflicted him since earlier in that year.[10] The *Life of Euthymios* relates that Leo was ill in the early stages of his reign,[11] as does the fourteenth-century *Account of the Miracles at Pege*, which records that both Leo and his first wife Theophano were ill, but recovered their health at the holy shrine at Pege.[12] However what these details do not suggest is that Leo was a chronically ill emperor. In Homily 21 he thanks the saints for having cured him of disease. His final illness is indicated as being unusual, not expected. The stories in the *Life* and *Miracles* accounts show that Leo was cured; further, in them Leo's health is not the main point anyway. In the *Life of Euthymios* Leo's illness and subsequent cure is a significant episode in that it proves the worth of the spiritual father and the power of his prayer, and it also explains why the emperor then built a monastery for Euthymios within Constantinople; the episode in the *Account of the Miracles at Pege* is just another in a long list proving that people had been receiving cures from the site ever since its supposed foundation by Leo I. The late date of this text might also give pause for thought. Thus the extant evidence concerning Leo's health is not sufficient to suggest that he was an emperor whose persistent poor health made it impossible for him to pursue an active military role.

The second explanation for Leo's non-campaigning character was that he was a pacifist, a theory apparently popular in the early twentieth century.[13] Today such a theory seems simply anachronistic. The idea itself is understandable though, for it could be said that in ideological terms the Byzantines were all pacifists; in their ideal Christian world peace was

[8] J. Grosdidier de Matons, 'Trois études sur Léon VI', *TM* 5 (1973), 181–242, esp. 229; C. Diehl, *Byzantine Portraits*, tr. H. Bell (New York, 1927), 173.

[9] See T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (forthcoming).

[10] *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 870–71; I. Ševčenko, 'Poems on the Deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes', *DOP* 23–4 (1969–70), 185–228, esp. 198 lines 36–7

[11] P. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP. Text, Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Brussels, 1970), 25 line 10–27 line 22.

[12] *AASS*, Nov III (1910), 878–89, chap. 20, 884.

[13] A.A. Vasiliev and M. Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes* 2,1 (Brussels, 1968), 127; A. Vogt, 'La jeunesse de Léon VI le sage', *RH* 174 (1934), 389–428, esp. 411; H. Grégoire, 'La vie de saint Blaise d'Amorium', *Byz* 5 (1929–30), 391–414, esp. 395.

prized. Certainly Leo's own ideology plays greatly on the quality of peacefulness, for it is a common epithet applied to him, along with wisdom and mildness; perhaps it reflects the interests of the dynasty in Solomon, whose very name in fact meant 'peaceful', and whose reign was distinguished by peace.[14] The important point seems to be that although the Byzantines preferred peace to war, this did not mean that they accepted peace at any price; military action was always an option.[15] While Leo's epithet may force the notion that he was a pacifist, this should not deceive us into thinking that he was opposed to the practice of war. The fact that in Leo's military manual the *Taktika* (a work of advice for his generals written at the end of the ninth century) the emperor is described as 'peaceful'[16] serves to highlight the contrast between ideology and reality: an emperor can describe himself as peaceful whilst at the same time detailing the practicalities of war.

A further useful case to cite here is Leo's attitude towards the Bulgarians as expressed in the *Taktika*. It is well-known that in the eighteenth constitution (diataxis) of this work, which describes how foreign nations fight and how the Byzantines should fight them, Leo refuses to give details about the Bulgarians, asserting that since the Byzantines are at present at peace with these people, a people who are now fellow-Christians anyway, there is no need to describe their tactics and how they should be countered.[17] This failure on the part of the emperor has been ascribed to his 'tender Christian conscience'[18] and gives rise to the assumption that Leo had no taste for war with Bulgaria,[19] reinforcing notions of his pacifism. However one should not be so quick to take Leo at his word.[20] Leo may not describe how the Bulgarians fight and how one should fight them, but what he does do is talk about the Magyars ('Turks'), who were neighbours of the Bulgarians. Suggestive of his real attitude, the emperor constantly compares the Magyars and the Bulgarians, and notes that they share virtually identical military methods.[21] The implication is obvious: to learn how the Bulgarians

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[14] See S.F. Tougher, 'The Wisdom of Leo VI', in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), 171–9; also 'The Reign of Leo VI (886–912). Personal Relationships and Political Ideologies,' Ph.D. thesis (St Andrews, 1994), chapter 4, 84–104.

[15] For Byzantine attitudes to peace and war see T.S. Miller and J. Nesbitt, eds, *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.* (Washington DC, 1995).

[16] See Grosdidier de Matons, 'Trois études', 232.

[17] Leo VI, *Taktika* 18, 44: *PG* 107:957.

[18] S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London, 1930), 146.

[19] Karlin-Hayter, 'Military Affairs', 40.

[20] See Tougher, 'Reign of Leo VI', 150–51; J. Shepard, 'Symeon of Bulgaria – Peacemaker', *Godishnik na Sofiiskiia Universitet 'Sv. Kliment Okhridski'. Nauchen tsent'r za slaviano-vizantiiski prouchvaniia 'Ivan Duichev'* 83,3 (1989) [1994], 9–48, esp. 11.

[21] For instance *Taktika* 18, 43 (*PG* 107:956); *Taktika* 18, 45 (*PG* 107: 957); *Taktika* 18, 61 (*PG* 107: 960); *Taktika* 18, 75 (*PG* 107: 964).

fight and how to fight them all one does is read the section on the Magyars. Leo is having his cake and eating it too. On the one hand he is taking a high moral Christian stance in asserting that it is not right to describe how to fight the empire's Christian Bulgarian friends, and on the other hand he is revealing exactly how one can fight them. Furthermore it should not be forgotten that elsewhere in his *Taktika* Leo VI records certain measures that were used previously during conflict with the Bulgarians; presumably such tactics could be used again.[22] Ultimately it is clear that Leo's 'pacifism' in no way impeded the military realities of the Byzantine empire, and as an explanation of his non-campaigning role it fails to convince.

The final recorded suggestion as to why Leo did not take the field in person is that he simply was not interested in this area. Certainly his lack of an active military role seems to add weight to the image of this emperor as one who was indifferent to military matters. It has been pointed out that his reign marked a revived, and successful, Bulgarian opposition, whilst the inroads into the Mediterranean by the Arab naval forces reached a peak, culminating in a show of force in the Bosphoros and the subsequent occupation and sacking of Thessalonike in 904. Leo has thus been characterized as an ineffective and feeble emperor who cared little for military affairs. However, not all Byzantinists have subscribed to this view of Leo. Two stand out as worthy of particular mention, and indeed it is appropriate that they should receive recognition in this volume given their contribution to our knowledge of ninth-century Byzantium.

These scholars are Romilly Jenkins and Patricia Karlin-Hayter. For Jenkins Leo's reign was in fact great; there were military reverses but these were temporary whereas 'the Byzantine counter-measures, in organization and diplomacy, were both permanent and salutary'.[23] Karlin-Hayter devoted a study to the state of military affairs during Leo's reign and showed that the accepted impression of the emperor in this field was in need of considerable adjustment.[24] She concluded that Leo could be seen as 'his own Minister for War',[25] that he oversaw a 'considerable step forward' in the organization of the themes,[26] and that he was not uninterested in military matters.[27] Her testimony that Leo was indeed a concerned and practical individual needs to be re-emphasized, for its lesson has still not been learnt.[28] It is illogical to argue that just because Leo was a non-

[22] *Taktika* 18, 42 (*PG* 107:956); *Taktika* 11, 26 (*PG* 107:800).

[23] Jenkins, *Imperial Centuries*, 201.

[24] P. Karlin-Hayter, 'When Military Affairs were in Leo's Hands: A Note on Byzantine Foreign Policy (886–912)', *Traditio* 23 (1967), 15–40, repr. in eadem, *Studies in Byzantine Political History* (London, 1981), study XIII.

[25] Karlin-Hayter, 'Military Affairs', 17.

[26] Karlin-Hayter, 'Military Affairs', 19–20 note 5.

[27] Karlin-Hayter, 'Military Affairs', 20.

[28] E.g. R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria. A Comparative Study Across the Early Medieval Frontier* (London, 1975), 57.

campaigning emperor he was uninterested in military matters. Byzantium's most famous emperor, Justinian I (527–565), was not an active military figure himself; he left the campaigning to his generals. However, when one considers this emperor one immediately thinks of the military campaigns that marked his reign, campaigns that he instigated: no one could ever say that Justinian I was uninterested in military matters.

Thus although Leo VI was a non-campaigning emperor it does not automatically follow that he had no interest in military matters. Indeed it seems almost perverse to suggest that Leo was an emperor with no military interest given the very existence of his *Taktika*. This manual of advice is a sizable work, consisting of twenty constitutions, a prooimion and an epilogue, and it would be surprizing that an emperor with no interest in military matters would have bothered to produce it. It is not just the bulk of the work that suggests his interest. The genre of the military manual seems to have stalled in the sixth century, so Leo's work marked a significant revival, and spawned a host of tenth-century successors.[29] The content of the work is significant too. Although much of it is based on earlier works, especially the sixth-century *Strategikon* of Maurice, there are elements to it which suggest that Leo was concerned with problems that faced the empire in his day. For instance the problem posed to the Byzantine empire by the Arab empire is addressed for the first time, and Leo indicates that it was the Arab threat that had prompted him to write the *Taktika*.[30] Indeed Dagron has argued that the *Taktika* demonstrates that the emperor was keen for the Byzantine army to copy certain traits of the Arab military system in order to achieve similar success.[31] That part of this section of the work had an independent existence reflects the value of the emperor's examination of the Arab army and the threat it posed to Byzantium.[32]

Leo also deals with naval warfare, a topic of obvious importance during his reign. The emperor notes that there was no available literature about this subject, and that he had been forced to cull his constitution from information supplied by his naval officers.[33] It also needs to be stressed that the *Taktika* is not the only work of literature on military matters produced by Leo. It seems he was preoccupied with this subject from his youth, for

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[29] A. Dain and J.-A. Foucault, 'Les stratégistes byzantins', *TM* 2 (1967), 317–92, esp. 354.

[30] *Taktika* 18, 142 (*PG* 107: 981); *Taktika* Epilogue, chapter 71 (*PG* 107: 1093). G. Kolias, 'The *Taktika* of Leo the Wise and the Arabs', *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984), 129–35.

[31] G. Dagron, 'Byzance et le modèle islamique au Xe siècle. À propos des *constitutions tactiques* de l'empereur Léon VI', *CRAI* (1983), 219–43. These traits were the concept of holy war, the fact that war was an integral part of Arab social life by virtue of territorial organization, that the army consisted of volunteers, and that it was amply supplied and funded by those Arabs who did not participate in the fighting.

[32] Dagron, 'Modèle islamique', 220 note 9.

[33] *Taktika* 19, 1 (*PG* 107: 989).

the work known as the *Problemata* has been dated to this period.[34] This text is composed of excerpts from the *Strategikon* of Maurice, which Leo quotes in answer to questions he has posed.[35] Further, the *Taktika* itself refers to another work by the emperor which appears to have been a book of extracts on warfare, which recalls the thematic compilations that were produced under Constantine VII.[36] It should also not be forgotten that it was Leo who commissioned Leo Katakalon to produce a work on imperial military expeditions, which was later found by Constantine VII.[37] There is in short a large body of literary evidence suggesting that for Leo VI military matters were indeed of interest.

Thus of the reasons propounded as to why Leo was a non-campaigning emperor, none is truly convincing. Others can be suggested though, and one apparently compelling possibility is that Leo simply lacked military experience,[38] as he indicates himself in his *Taktika*: he reveals that he only knew of Arab warfare second-hand, from his generals, from accounts written for previous emperors, and from listening to the stories of his father.[39] Part of the explanation for Leo's lack of experience can probably be found in the fact that he had only become heir-apparent to his father relatively late in Basil's reign, after Leo's elder brother Constantine died unexpectedly in 879. It seems that as heir-apparent Constantine had borne all the hopes and attentions of his father, and Basil had indeed seen to his military training, taking him on campaign to the east not long before Constantine's death,[40] and celebrating a triumph with him in Constantinople.[41] It looks as if Leo's military training was neglected because he was not originally intended as Basil's main heir, and when Leo did step into Constantine's shoes there were more pressing matters to attend to, namely marriage and the production of children to secure the future of the dynasty.

Leo's fall in 883 and subsequent three-year imprisonment naturally precluded military experience. However it does not logically follow that

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[34] A. Dain, *Leonis VI Sapientis Problemata* (Paris, 1935).

[35] See Dain and Foucault, 'Les stratégistes', 354.

[36] See P. Magdalino, 'The Non-Juridical Legislation of Leo VI' (forthcoming).

[37] See J.F. Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, *CFHB* 28 (Vienna, 1990), 94–7.

[38] This raises the question of 'training'. Was there theoretical training as well as practical training? Did practical training consist of exercises, or was one thrown in at the deep end? Vogt, 'Jeunesse', 407–8, asserted that Leo must have received military training, conjecturing that it was the sponsors of his tonsure who were his instructors in the art of war, but he still admits that we know nothing about this aspect of Leo's education. Interestingly Leo VI himself in the *Taktika* advocates the training of sons of officials and soldiers by taking them on campaign, referring to these sons as 'noble whelps': *Taktika* 20, 214 (*PG* 107: 1072–3).

[39] *Taktika* 128, 123 (*PG* 107: 976).

[40] Theoph. Cont., 278.

[41] For the triumph and its date see Haldon, *Three Treatises*, 140–7, 268–9.

just because an emperor has had no military experience that he will then be a non-campaigning emperor. Lack of training or experience was never a bar to an active military role. A famous case is that of the fourth-century emperor Julian, plucked from private life in 355 by his imperial cousin Constantius II (337–61) to be his caesar in Gaul. Julian had had no military experience, but proved an enthusiastic and successful soldier, drawing illumination and inspiration (or so he says) from existing literary accounts of campaigning and battles.[42] An apparent example closer to Leo's day is provided by Theophilos (born 812–13), who does not seem to have campaigned prior to becoming sole emperor in 829.[43] As these examples suggest, it would be simplistic to deduce that Leo was a non-campaigning emperor only because he lacked the necessary experience.

Other explanations of Leo's non-campaigning character could perhaps be suggested: the problem of his apparently untrustworthy brother Alexander may have made Leo reluctant to be absent from court, as also the persistent problem of producing a male heir.[44] Yet it is unlikely that such specific theories can ever really account for the sheer peculiarity of a non-campaigning ninth-century emperor. Indeed the bizarreness of this case is heightened when one realizes that this feature of Leo's emperorship marks the end of a norm that had been established definitively by Herakleios (610–41) in the seventh century. Further significance is added to the issue when one realizes, as Cheynet has done,[45] that Leo's non-campaigning character then became the norm for his successors until the accession of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69). Such a transformation in the role of the emperor surely calls for a more substantial explanation than illness, personal likes or dislikes, lack of experience, or indeed any momentary specifics. Breaking with centuries of imperial tradition by not going on campaign cannot have been undertaken lightly, and suggests that what we are dealing with when we consider Leo's non-campaigning character is his conception of the role of an emperor.

If Leo was rejecting an aspect of the emperor's role that had been well-established for over two centuries, then it is a possibility that he was trying to return to an imperial model as represented by such late antique emperors as Arcadius (395–408), Theodosius II (408–50), and Justinian I. Emperors

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[42] Julian, *Oration* 3, 124B–C, tr. W. C. Wright, *The Works of the Emperor Julian* 1, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge MA and London, 1980), 328–31.

[43] Note also that although Michael III was only an infant when he became emperor in 842 in the course of his reign he did embrace an active military role.

[44] The Alexander factor was suggested to me by Jonathan Shepard. It may however be felt that Leo had enough people whom he could trust at court to keep an eye on his brother. Alternatively Leo could have taken Alexander on campaign too. On the problem of lacking a son, note that Michael III also had no children but this did not stop him from campaigning.

[45] J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), 192.

such as these were renowned for their lack of an active military role, and the case of Justinian was most striking given the emphasis during his reign on military activity. Justinian remained at the hub of power in Constantinople whilst entrusting crucial military campaigns to generals such as Belisarius. He was able to take the credit for any military successes, which had been won without incurring any risk to his life: it was Justinian who emerged as the dominant and triumphant figure in the celebrations that marked Belisarius's victories.[46]

However whilst the emperor could steal their glory the generals still depended upon him for the maintenance of their careers. The relationship between Leo VI and his generals was of such a character too. It is well known that Nikephoros Phokas, the grandfather of the later emperor of the same name, had a distinguished military career under Leo, and the emperor in his *Taktika* refers several times to the activities of Nikephoros, whom he terms 'our general', covering all the theatres of war in which he was active.[47] The intimacy between this general and the emperor is well-recognized, and seems to have led to a special relationship between the Macedonian dynasty and the family of the Phokades.[48] Similar relationships existed between the emperor and other generals, such as Andronikos Doukas and his son Constantine, Eustathios Argyros and his sons, and the admiral Himerios.[49] Leo also seems to have exploited the successes of his commanders for his own glory, for Michael McCormick has argued that the emperor 'staged at least two major victory celebrations'.[50] Further Leo is described as 'victorious' (νικητής) and 'triumphator' (τροπαιοῦχος) in the title heading of his first *Novel*.[51] These emperor-general relationships could deteriorate but it seems clear that they were all initially defined in terms of friendship. Such a situation is reminiscent of the relationship between Justinian and his trusted general Belisarius.

Certainly Justinian was an emperor who was on Leo's mind when it came to other aspects of his reign.[52] Leo's collection of *Novels*, which was produced in the early years of the reign, was inspired by the example of Justinian's collection. Leo acknowledges in his work that he has Justinian

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[46] M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), 125–9.

[47] *Taktika* 11, 25 (*PG* 107:800); *Taktika* 11, 26 (*PG* 107: 800); *Taktika* 15, 38 (*PG* 107: 896); *Taktika* 17, 83 (*PG* 107: 933).

[48] See for instance J.-C. Cheynet, 'Les Phocas', in G. Dagron and H. Mihăescu, *Le traité sur la guérilla de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963–969)* (Paris, 1986), 289–315, at 295.

[49] See Tougher, 'Reign of Leo VI', chapter 7.

[50] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 157–8.

[51] Leo VI, *Novellae* 1, ed. and tr. P. Noailles and A. Dain, *Les novelles de Léon VI le sage* (Paris, 1944), 10–11. Compare the pious Christian dedication of the *Taktika*.

[52] For the interest in Justinian that marked the early Macedonian dynasty generally see Magdalino, 'Non-Juridical'.

on his mind, and is intent on improving on the example of the famous sixth-century emperor.[53] Further, in the title of his first *Novel* the emperor takes the name Caesar Flavius Leo, in direct imitation of Caesar Flavius Justinianus, as Justinian is called in the titles of his legal work.[54] Indeed Leo has taken on many of Justinian's titles here – pious, fortunate, glorious, victor, triumphator, ever-venerable, augustus. Also of significance is that in Leo's collection Stylianos Zaoutzes, to whom most of the *Novels* are addressed, is styled 'magistros of the divine offices'. This is an evident evocation of the old office of *magister officiorum*, and is an obvious archaism on the part of Leo to recall the role of the holder of this office in legislation, a role that Tribonian had filled for Justinian.[55] In the legal sphere also it is clear that the *Basilika* was the up-to-date Greek equivalent of Justinian's *Corpus Iuris*.

Justinian was in the air in other ways also. The *First Parainesis* written for Leo as if by his father Basil was heavily influenced by a sixth-century example written by Agapitos the deacon of Hagia Sophia for Justinian I.[56] The western orientation of Basil's military goals may also have recalled the name of Justinian. Perhaps it was also realized that Justinian had shared the interest of the Macedonian dynasty in the Old Testament king Solomon.[57]

Thus the emperor Justinian was on Leo's mind, and it is possible that the ninth-century emperor was trying to revive a more ancient imperial style. Indeed one might even hypothesize that the example of Solomon's reign of peace and lack of an active military role also deserves to be considered as a potential model for Leo. However, a supposed dependence on the example of Justinian or Solomon is not the crucial issue here; what counts is the style of emperorship, certainly distinct and evocative of an earlier period in the lack of a campaigning role, that Leo sought to achieve. The dominant impression one gets of Leo is that he was a 'centralized' emperor keen to assert his own authority. His centrality is reflected not only by avoidance of military campaigning but his lack of movement in general. Leo was an emperor who had a very sedentary lifestyle, rarely venturing beyond the city of Constantinople and its environs; the furthest that he seems

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[53] *Novellae* 1 , ed. and tr. Noailles and Dain, *Les novelles*, 10-5; Magdalino, 'Non-Juridical'.

[54] See for example Justinian's *Digest*, ed. T. Mommsen, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* 1 (Berlin, 1962), XXXII.3, XXXIII.2.

[55] For Tribonian as *magister officiorum* and the role of this official in legislation see T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (London, 1978), 9, 57.

[56] See for example A. Markopoulos, 'Autour des *Chapitres Parénétiques* de Basile Ier' (forthcoming).

[57] See P. Magdalino, 'Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I', *JÖB* 37 (1987), 51–64, esp. 59; G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris, 1984), esp. 269, 298, 305.

to have ranged was to Nikomedeia, Olympos and Pythia.[58] His reputation as a wise, or indeed most wise, emperor, and his brooking of no opposition, reflect his authoritarian nature, and that he had a highly inflated sense of his position within society.[59] His authority was not to be questioned: he could get rid of Photios and install his own brother as patriarch, he could legislate on canonical matters, he could bury his wife when he chose, he could pray for rain, he could advise a monastic community on spiritual life, he could ban the annual procession at mid-Pentecost to the church of St Mokios, he could even marry four times if he wanted to. He was not simply a new Solomon and a new Justinian; he was better than both of them.

Thus there develops a picture of Leo placing himself squarely at the centre of power within the empire and remaining there, setting himself up as a fount of all knowledge and the arch-controller of his world empire. His relationship with his generals illustrates this style: Leo's generals may have been fighting his battles, but the city-based emperor still felt it was his position to tell them how to do it.

[58] Constantine VII, *De Administrando Imperio* 51 lines 36-8: ed. and tr. G. Moravcsik and R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington DC, 1967), 246–8. For Leo on Olympos see also Theoph.Cont., 464. It seems that Leo went to Olympos for the monks, and to Pythia for the hot springs. As to Nikomedeia, perhaps he went here to address the army, which in itself would reveal that he was not as disinterested in military affairs as some have believed him to be.

[59] For the authoritarian implications of Leo's reputation as wise, see my 'Reign of Leo VI', chapter 4.

Section II

Byzantine Culture

6. Byzantine culture in the ninth century: an introduction*

Leslie Brubaker

The narrative of culture and the culture of narrative

The first two chapters in this section may at first seem contradictory. Paul Speck, presenting a summation of his work over the past two decades, argues that Byzantine culture was static because, to preserve its claim to 'romanity' against the Arab and Frank 'intruders' into the old empire, Byzantium embalmed itself in its past. Marie-France Auzépy, in contrast, barely mentions the past: she is concerned with how the Byzantines created a new identity for orthodoxy and, in fact, empire during the last quarter of the eighth and first quarter of the ninth century. It is hard to see how these two chapters could possibly fit together, but in fact they rub shoulders companionably. The new culture created by Auzépy's monks and churchmen, with its literary roots in saints' lives, runs parallel to the archaic recreations of the Second Sophistic chronicled by Speck; and that these are real cultural parallels is underscored by Symeon Metaphrastes' tenth-century attempts to make hagiography 'classic' (an attempt discussed by Speck). Speck focusses on the grand narrative of Byzantine culture; Auzépy looks to how the narrative is constructed. From both points of view, it appears that the idea (and ideal type) of narrative changed in the ninth century. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, in the third chapter, takes the examination of the construction of narrative deeper by introducing another – and increasingly sophisticated – literary level, hymnography. Perhaps more than any other grouping in this volume, this combination of essays together makes one understand the limitations of old paradigms about the ninth century. Iconoclasm is not irrelevant, but the way its adherents spoke has become as important as what they said.

* I thank Chris Wickham for his comments on an earlier draft of this introduction, and Elizabeth Bolton, a former student of mine in America, for her 'facsimile' of Paris.gr.923.

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The remaining three chapters in this section focus on material culture. Robert Ousterhout examines the physical and literary records of ninth-century church architecture in Constantinople; Alessandra Ricci re-identifies the ruins long (and incorrectly) described as the remains of Theophilos' Bryas palace, also in the capital; and Robin Cormack looks to other regions, especially Thessalonike. The critical element missing from the chapters in this section is the representational art of Constantinople,[1] a topic introduced at the Symposium itself by Kathleen Corrigan, whose insights on 'narrative' were arranged to balance Nancy Patterson Ševčenko's thoughts on 'non-narrative' imagery. Corrigan's ideas will appear elsewhere as part of a larger study and unfortunately cannot be included in this volume. One of her basic points must, however, be repeated here. Using the ninth-century copy of the *Christian Topography* (Vat.gr.699) as her model, Corrigan showed how visual narrative transcended the bounds of textual narrative: as different word-stories unfolded over several pages, the images supplied a double layer of meaning by both responding to the words that they accompanied and at the same time creating another supplementary narrative that was conveyed purely by imagery.

Images that work with, but also transcend, words are in fact a leitmotif of the ninth century; and, as Robin Cormack notes later in this section, this relationship is most easily understood in products of the capital, for that is where the bulk of our written and visual evidence was generated. Not coincidentally, it is also where most of the ninth-century illustrated manuscripts – the prime medium for understanding the interface between written and visual comunication – seem to have originated. In addition to the *Christian Topography*, these manuscripts include the three oldest psalters with marginal miniatures,[2] the two earliest illustrated copies of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus,[3] the first preserved Job manuscripts with pictures[4] and the only copy of the *Sacra Parallela* to include images.[5] Other ninth-

[1] See R. Cormack, 'The Arts during the Age of Iconoclasm' and 'Painting after Iconoclasm', in Bryer and Herrin, *Iconoclasm*, 35–44 and 147–63; both repr. in idem, *The Byzantine Eye, Studies in Art and Patronage* (London, 1989), studies III and IV.

[2] Moscow, Historical Museum gr. 129 (Khludov Psalter); Mt Athos, Pantokrator 61; and Paris.gr.20. For an excellent recent discussion of all three, with earlier bibliography, see K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992).

[3] Milan, Ambrosiana E.49/50 inf.; and Paris.gr.510. A full discussion of both, with earlier bibliography, will shortly appear in my *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-century Byzantium: Image and Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge).

[4] Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, cod. 171; and Vat.gr.749: see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 108–10.

[5] Paris.gr.923: reproduced in K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus graecus 923*, Studies in manuscript illumination 8 (Princeton, 1979); discussion, with earlier bibliography, in my 'Byzantine art in the ninth century: theory, practice and culture', *BMGS* 13 (1989), 23–93, esp. 30–31, 70–75.

century miniatures now isolated from their original context – e.g. the frontispiece inserts in Princeton, Garrett 6[6] – also exist, but even confining ourselves to the basically complete books, we find an unusually high number of densely illustrated manuscripts that appear to have been produced between 843 and 900, most of them in Constantinople.

This suggests the importance of visual narrative in the ninth century, though individual scenes and perhaps especially portraits were also produced. The importance of portraits in the ninth century surfaces in the manuscript evidence: of the nearly eight hundred images accompanying passages from the Old Testament in the *Sacra Parallela*, for example, six hundred are portraits. It recurs in coinage – where, under Basil I, we find the reintroduction of the standing imperial portrait after a two-hundred year hiatus[7] – and even in the representational imagery in Hagia Sophia, the Great Church, where the largest group of mosaics still preserved dates from the ninth century and consists almost entirely of portraits: the apsidal image of the Virgin and Christchild flanked by archangels of 867, the Deesis and portraits of iconophile heroes in the vestibule and the room over the ramp (c.870), the Church Fathers and prophets of the tympana (c.880), and perhaps the lunette mosaic of an unidentified emperor prostrate before Christ over the imperial door.[8]

The extensive narrative sequences and hundreds of portraits suggest the importance of both genres in ninth-century Byzantium, but the examples just listed in no way encompass the whole of preserved ninth-century representational art from Constantinople: textiles, metalwork, icons and ivories appear in significant numbers.[9] There is no paucity of material. It is worth remarking, too, that we should not see this apparent efflorescence as some outpouring of frustrated artistic energies held in check during Iconoclasm: art and architecture continued to be produced during Iconoclasm and the interim period between its two phases (787–815). As Robert Ousterhout notes later in this section, surviving architectural witnesses to the iconoclast century include the earliest extant cross-in-square church – the Fatih Camii at Trilye, dated just after 799 – and Ayasofya at Vize in Thrace (post 833), while in Constantinople Hagia

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[6] H.C. Evans and W.D. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261* (New York, 1997), 90–91.

[7] See P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* 3,2 (Washington DC, 1973), 476–7.

[8] For a survey, with earlier bibliography, see R. Cormack, 'Interpreting the mosaics at St Sophia', *Art History* 4 (1981), 131–49; repr. in his *Byzantine Eye* as study VIII.

[9] See e.g. Evans and Wixom, *Glory of Byzantium*, nos 74, 148, 165; D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium, Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture* (London, 1994), nos 138–9, 141, 143–4; J. Durand *et al.*, eds, *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques française* (Paris, 1992), nos 124, 130–31, 133–4, 183, 225–7, 280–3, 296.

Eirene was reconstructed in or just after 753 and the baptistery of Hagia Sophia was remodelled using wood dendrochronologically dated to 814. Textual evidence adds that Constantine V not only repopulated the capital after the great plague, but, like many insecure emperors before and after him, was a great patron and substantially repaired the urban fabric of Constantinople.[10] Extant representational material from the iconoclast years includes the Vatican Ptolemy manuscript of 754;[11] and there are of course the mosaics that were decried in iconophile polemic as representing plants, animals, birds, hunts and hippodromes in place of religious narrative scenes.[12]

In light of pre-iconoclast imagery that uses flora and fauna to signify the created world and its bounty or to evoke paradise,[13] it is possible (indeed, likely) that if these decorations actually existed, at least some of them had religious meaning, albeit expressed in the symbolic mode that had been recently condemned by the Quinisext Council in 692 and that was not favoured by iconophiles.[14] But, whatever the status of the decorations described by the iconoclasts' enemies, religious imagery created before Iconoclasm remained visible throughout and after the controversy in the capital, even in the imperial church of Hagia Sophia.[15] As Robin Cormack notes later in this volume, the same was true in Thessalonike; and it seems that at least Byzantines living in urban centres could have maintained familiarity with representational imagery (and probably even representational religious imagery) throughout Iconoclasm.

Despite these signs of continuity, however, we cannot argue that Iconoclasm had no impact on the representational arts of Constantinople: the ways that figural imagery could create meaning, and the types of meaning that it was possible for images to communicate, changed,

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[10] See P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale, Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), 15–16.

[11] See D. Wright, 'The Date of the Vatican Illuminated Handy Tables of Ptolemy and its Early Additions', *BZ* 78 (1985), 355–62.

[12] See e.g. the *Life of St Stephen the Younger*: ed. and tr. M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre. Introduction, édition et traduction*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 3 (Aldershot, 1997), 121, 126–7 (tr. 215, 221–2).

[13] See H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean, the Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park, 1987).

[14] For the Quinisext passage see Mansi XI, 977–80; English tr. in C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), 139–40.

[15] E.g. according to Nikephoros, it was only in 768/9 that mosaics of Christ and saints were removed from the *sekreta* of Hagia Sophia (C. Mango, *Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History. Text, translation and commentary* [Washington DC, 1990], 160–61), while in a letter written to Louis the Pious in 824, Michael II and Theophilos explained that they had allowed religious images high on the walls to remain in place for didactic purposes (*MGH Concilia* 2, 2 [Hanover, 1908], 475–80 at 478–9; English tr. in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 157–8). For Thessalonian parallels, see Robin Cormack's chapter below.

sometimes profoundly. Beginning in the late seventh century, the holy portrait came to be seen as a transparent window for the first time – a seismic shift to which the *Acts* of the Quinisext Council of 692 responded, and furthered.[16] Iconoclasm was at least in part a direct reaction to this opening of a virtually unrestricted channel to the divine, mediated through material images. During that reaction, and not before, the theology (and theory) of orthodox images was created. Iconoclasm did not, in other words, respond to a new theology or theory of images; it generated its creation and codification.[17]

The orthodox theory of religious representations that grew out of Iconoclasm is perhaps best known through the *Acts* of the 787 Council (Nicaea II), the writings of John of Damascus from the second quarter of the eighth century and of the Patriarch Nikephoros in the early ninth.[18] All express the theory's basic premises that belief in Christ's incarnation required the acceptance of his portrait (to reject Christ's image was thus to reject the Incarnation), that prayer to a holy portrait was heard by the one represented, and that the material image, sanctified by tradition, was a legitimate partner of the scripture in transmitting truth.[19] The emphasis on portraiture mentioned earlier forms a natural pendant to these beliefs, and in fact the codification and acceptance of orthodox image theory affected aspects of religious imagery that range from the way sacred portraits were presented[20] to the way that scenes were combined with each other and with texts to create messages relevant to the thought-world of ninth-century Constantinople;[21] and from the iconography of individual

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[16] Brubaker, 'Icons before Iconoclasm?', *Settimane* 45 (1998), forthcoming.

[17] Ibid.; M.-F. Auzépy, 'L'iconodoulie: Défense de l'image ou de la dévotion a l'images?', in F. Boespflug and N. Lossky, eds, *Nicée II, Douze siècles d'images religieuses* (Paris, 1987), 157–65.

[18] Mansi XII and XIII; partial English tr. in D. Sahas, *Icon and Logos. Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm* (Toronto, 1986). B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* 3: *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres* (Berlin, 1975); partial English tr. in D. Anderson, *St John of Damascus, On the Divine Images: Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images* (Crestwood NY, 1980). PG 100: 205–533; French tr. M.-J. Mondzain-Baudinet, *Nicéphore, Discours contre les iconoclastes* (Paris, 1989).

[19] Discussion, with earlier bibliography, in my 'Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century'; more recent publications include C. Barber, 'From Transformation to Desire: Art and Worship after Byzantine Iconoclasm', *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993), 7–16; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*; J. Elsner, 'Image and Iconoclasm in Byzantium', *Art History* 11 (1988), 471-91; M.-J. Mondzain, *Image, icône, économie. Les sources byzantines de l'imaginaire contemporain* (Paris, 1996); K. Parry, *Depicting the Word, Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth & Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, 1996); and M. Zoubouli, 'L'Esthétique et le sacré: l'icone dans la pensée spéculative et dans la vie quotidienne', *Études Balkaniques* 2 (1995), 71–102.

[20] See H. Maguire, *The Icons of their Bodies. Saints and their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1996).

[21] See e.g. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics* and Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*.

scenes[22] to formal presentation.[23] The dialogue between pictures and words so familiar to students of ninth-century manuscripts was also, apparently, a product of the new context for religious art created by Iconoclasm.[24] Is this related to that other apparent predilection of the ninth century, visual narrative?

The extended narrative sequences preserved in ninth-century manuscripts reveal a number of patterns. Some of these are almost certainly particular to manuscript painting: the dual narrative played out almost like a fugue that Kathleen Corrigan identified in the miniatures of the Vatican *Christian Topography* could, for example, hardly have been effectively composed outside of a book. The propensity of ninth-century miniaturists to treat visual and written narrative as related but not identical also surfaces in the ninth-century marginal psalters,[25] and in the copy of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus created for the Emperor Basil I and his family between 879 and 882 (Paris.gr.510).[26] Even in the *Sacra Parallela* the painter extended the textual narrative beyond the written account that the pictures accompany on at least twenty occasions.[27] While I believe that in this manuscript the portraits authenticate the text quotations,[28] the visual narratives themselves – unlike those in the Vatican *Christian Topography*, the psalters, and Paris.gr.510 – do not interact with the verbal narratives: they do not further the dialogue between word and image. In a sense they present visual narratives unaffected by the needs of visual exegesis, and it thus seems to me useful to ask what the *Sacra Parallela* miniatures add to an understanding of the role of narrative in the ninth century.

As just noted, visual narratives may extend beyond the adjacent written account in the *Sacra Parallela*. This – as others have observed – suggests that text and image were not obsessively coordinated; it is however unlikely that this lack of synchronicity was due to the miniaturists' thoughtless copying of the pictures that had gone with the full texts from which the extracts in the *Sacra Parallela* were collected.[29] The extracts themselves come from

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[22] E.g. the Crucifixion, on which see A. Kartsonics, *Anastasis, the Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986).

[23] E.g the use of gold and the emphasis on foreground actions: see my *Vision and Meaning*.

[24] On the rhetoric that accompanied this development see J.-M. Sansterre, 'La parole, le texte et l'image selon les auteurs byzantins des époques iconoclaste et posticonoclaste', *Settimane* 41 (1994), 197–240, though unlike him I do not think that visual authority was confined to the ninth century nor that statements about images were only rhetoric.

[25] See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*.

[26] This was first, and brilliantly, exposed in S. Der Nersessian, 'The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510. A Study of the Connections between Text and Images', *DOP* 16 (1962), 197–228.

[27] Listed in my 'Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century', 45 note 76.

[28] Ibid., 70–75.

[29] As, most importantly, Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*.

thirty-nine different authors and the Old and New Testaments. It beggars the imagination – especially given the difficulty of collecting texts in the eighth and ninth centuries even in the capital[30] – that piles of illustrated manuscripts were assembled and placed at the disposal of the *Sacra Parallela* miniaturists either in Palestine (if, as Kurt Weitzmann suspected, the text was first illustrated there, and later copied into what we now know as Paris.gr.923) or in Constantinople (if, as I believe, Paris.gr.923 is a product of the capital and represents the first and probably only example of the text ever to have been illustrated).

It seems far more likely that the artisans supplied many of the images themselves, drawing on formulae familiar to them from their training and environs or inventing the scenes from scratch. This is certainly a pattern familiar in other ninth-century manuscripts. For the marginal psalters, for example, Corrigan has proposed a three layer development: a core group of psalter imagery that pre-dates Iconoclasm, a typological overlay of New Testament scenes adduced in commentaries of various sorts on the psalms, and a distinctly ninth-century layer of polemic imagery targeted against heresy that was created *de novo*.[31] The miniaturists of the Paris *Homilies* also compiled whole sequences from scratch and quite prosaically relied on a group of stock figure types to help them do so.[32] In the *Sacra Parallela*, as noted earlier, three-quarters of the eight hundred images evoked by passages from the Old Testament are non-narrative portraits, sometimes with the figure praying to God but more normally presented on their own. Though the *Sacra Parallela* miniaturists associated distinct physiognomical types with different textual traditions in portraits of at least one New Testament figure (John is depicted with white hair and beard in scenes from the gospels and epistles, with black hair and a receding hairline in scenes from Acts[33]), for Old Testament portraits they replicated the conventional physiognomy that had evidently been established for the more important figures by the ninth century: the creators of these portraits did not need precise models drawn from a particular manuscript tradition. The same seems to be true of the narrative scenes. The roughly two hundred Old Testament scenes in the manuscript, for example, seem to blend iconographies created for the manuscript – as in Paris.gr.510, a number of stock compositions recur throughout Paris.gr.923[34] – with iconographies

[30] See the classic C. Mango, 'The Availability of Texts in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750–850', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington DC, 1975), 29-45; repr. in idem, *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984), study VII.

[31] Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 8–26.

[32] Compare, e.g., the sleeping Jonah on fol. 3r, Jacob on fol. 174v, and Constantine on fol. 440r: Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, figs 6, 23, 45.

[33] Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 181, 189, 199.

[34] Compare David's bath (fol. 203r) with Bathsheba's (fol. 282v) and Susannah's (fol. 373v): Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, figs 134, 131, 393.

current in ninth-century Constantinople: the Samson sequences, for instance, find their closest parallels in Paris.gr.510.[35]

The Old Testament narrative scenes in the *Sacra Parallela* fall into two groups: there are just over one hundred independent scenes, and just under one hundred scenes combined in two- to five-episode groups to make up the thirty-five Old Testament narrative sequences in the manuscript. There does not, in other words, seem to be a strong bias in favour of narrative sequences *per se* amongst the Old Testament scenes of the *Sacra Parallela*, and narrative scenes in general are far less common than portraits. Miniatures accompanying quotations from the gospels and Acts show a different profile: one hundred and seventy-one passages are illustrated, seventy-four of them with narrative scenes. But although the proportion of narrative scenes to portraits has jumped from twenty-five to forty-three per cent, for both the Old Testament and New Testament groups of narratives, the incidence of visual sequences that expand beyond the parallel textual quotation remains roughly the same.[36] When we move to quotations from other sources, however, this group vanishes almost completely and indeed the number of narrative scenes drops sharply. Quotations from the various epistles are virtually always accompanied only by a portrait: of one hundred and seven images, only one presents a narrative scene. The six hundred and eighty-six miniatures that illustrate quotations from various non-biblical authors are almost equally sparse with visual narrative: only forty-four are not author portraits – and of these, thirteen picture the animals described by Basil in his *Hexaemeron* while four more are simple teaching scenes.

Beyond confirming the importance of portraits in the *Sacra Parallela*, this list of numbers and statistics demonstrates rather conclusively that the narrative scenes, and perhaps especially the narrative sequences, cluster around the most familiar texts with the most commonly illustrated episodes; here too we find all examples of visual narrative that expands beyond the accompanying text.[37] These are, on the whole, stories that the *Sacra Parallela* miniaturists will have known and in many cases will have seen represented elsewhere. The iconographic parallels with other ninth-century works are never, however, sufficiently precise to suggest a fixed source of inspiration; instead, they point toward a more general knowledge, shared amongst the artisans of Constantinople at least, of basic iconographical formulae and

[35] Paris.gr.923, fols 108v, 246v, 247r-v: Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, figs 93–101. Paris.gr.510, fol. 347v: Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, fig. 35.

[36] 7 per cent of the Old Testament sequences (14 examples), 8 per cent of the New (6 examples).

[37] The one non-biblical example of such expansion accompanies a quotation from a text demonstrably well-known in ninth-century Byzantium, Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*: Paris.gr.923, fol. 227r: Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 246–7, figs 715–16.

sometimes – as in the case of the Samson sequences mentioned earlier or, from the New Testament group, the Good Samaritan sequence[38] – of fairly extensive sequences. As the iconographically stable Joseph sequences that appear with such regularity before Iconoclasm (almost always travelling independent of any text) should have taught us,[39] artisans learn their trade from masters, not books, and they do not live in vacuums. What the *Sacra Parallela* confirms about ninth-century narrative imagery is that its boundaries are independent from the boundaries of written narrative.[40]

Of the major surviving ninth-century illuminated manuscripts, the *Sacra Parallela* reveals the least evidence for a carefully structured dialectic between verbal and visual narrative, but it nonetheless shows that artisans were fully acquainted with the idea of thinking in visual narrative terms; and they were not restricted by the narrative framed by the text. I doubt that this was a recent phenomenon or that it documents new ways of thinking after 843. But what the articulation of orthodox image theory during and after Iconoclasm did do was to legitimize a new way of seeing images, narrative or not: they would be from now on fronted in orthodox culture and, as the *Sacra Parallela* demonstrates, they could take centre stage in even the most text-centred of contexts. This refiguring was indeed a product of Iconoclasm.

One of the themes that will become clear in the chapters that follow in this section is thus that the struggle toward redefinition that Averil Cameron has argued was taking place in late antiquity came to a head in eighth- and ninth-century Byzantium. As is clear not just from the chapters in this section but from those in the preceding section as well, what we see happening in the ninth century is that the transition which had begun to be codified and canonized by the Quinisext Council in 692 – a transition that was interrupted by what I think that we must now see, contrary to established opinion, as the essentially reactionary and conservative force of Iconoclasm – was completed by c.900. The Byzantines, or at least those Byzantines who have left us any material records, had looked upon their project of self-definition, absorbed it, and begun to believe it.

[38] Compare Paris.gr.923, fols 320v–321r (Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, figs 457–8) with Paris.gr.510, fol. 143v (Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, fig. 19).

[39] See G. Vikan, 'Joseph Iconography on Coptic Textiles', *Gesta* 18/1 (1979), 99–108.

[40] Structural parallels between the two do, however, sometimes exist: see my 'Miniatures and Liturgy: Evidence from the Ninth-Century Codex *Paris.gr.*510', *Byz* 66, À Mme Alice Leroy-Molinghen (1996), 9–34, esp. 17–19.

7. Byzantium: cultural suicide?

Paul Speck

Since Byzantine studies began in the last century to become a separate discipline, Byzantinists have had to face two things: one reproach and one appreciation. First the reproach. Many, very many, texts of all kinds were written in Byzantium, but there is no Byzantine literature in the modern sense of the term. What exists is a more or less successful, but still tiresome and cadaverous, imitation of ancient literature. This imitation however is combined with a generally exorbitant interest in ancient literature and a scrupulous upkeep of the ancient heritage, so that, and here we arrive at the appreciation, that the primary merit of Byzantium consists in the transmission of ancient literature to the Italian Renaissance, i.e. to us.

Byzantinists, not recognizing that they are facing two sides of one coin, are often very proud of this historical merit of Byzantium. They then try to find real and true Byzantine literature, in the romantic sense of national literature being a *conditio sine qua non* of national existence. And of course, they do find it. Romanos has the highest rank, despite the fact that he was a Syrian writing in Greek with an enormous, but short-lived, success, despite the fact that he was certainly never appreciated in Byzantine eyes as 'our great poet'. Nor is any other writer a good candidate for the post of national poet. At least *Digenis Akritas* can play the role of the national *epos*.

Other Byzantinists, many of them the offspring of classical philology, try to show the literary values of the Byzantine literature of imitation,[1] pointing to Photios or Psellos or to their favorite text, the funeral lament for a Guinea fowl by Michael Italikos.[2] I do not deny the value of all these texts, with their perfect mannerist managing of rhetoric and their play with

[1] E.g. in ΛΕΙΜΩΝ, the festschrift for L. Rydèn (Upssala, 1996), there are two articles on the literary quality of the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene.

[2] See e.g. the translations with remarks by H.-G. Beck, *Byzantinisches Lesebuch* (Munich, 1982), 354–6, and by P. Agapitos, Ἔρως, θάνατος και τέχνη. Ενα ρητορικό τρίπτυχο του δωδεκάτου αἰώνα, *Σημείο. Έκδοση Κριτικής και Λογοτεχνίας* 1 (1992), 7–22.

words and thoughts. And certainly there exists an intellectual possibility of pleasure in them, but that is not the question.

When I was a student, Jannis Kakridis saw me reading Gregory of Nazianzus. He looked at the text, read a few lines, shook his head and asked me almost desperately: 'How can you read such ugly stuff? That's not poetry'. And helpless as I was, I answered: 'Perhaps to find out why Byzantium did not produce poetry'. Here I will try to substantiate that response, not with the ignorant optimism of a twenty-three year old student but with the reading and experience of decades.

When we begin to come to terms with Byzantine literature, the situation at first seems to be absurd. If we look at narrative literature we find the erotic novels of Hellenism and late antiquity, erotic novels again in the twelfth century and the same in vernacular language in the fourteenth. And in between and besides? The standard answer is simple: hagiography of all kinds and quality.

Nonsense! As if people read and lived with five novels for more than a thousand years and as if they read with increasing pleasure hagiographic texts. Of course not! We must only open our eyes and look, to find a lot of narrative literature besides hagiography. However, it is not yet recognized as such. For example, the early fifth-century 'novel' of how Eudokia became the wife of Theodosius II (the title was coined by Kenneth Holum[3]), the story of Kyros (in whom Hans-Georg Beck found a forerunner of Belisarios, suffering from the emperor's envy[4]) or the story of Constantine the Great and the heathen philosopher Sopatros (this too is a story of envy and fraud[5]). There are many more subjects to be discovered in the fifth century.

Altogether, there existed a lot of narrative literature. We do not know very much about it because the works are conserved only in fragments and nobody has looked at them very intensively or studied them, but some basic questions remain open. For example, we do not know if in all cases we should talk about novels or if we have to suppose separate novellas. Further, the fragment (better, the fragments) of the 'novel of Eudokia' is transmitted in Malalas and in the Chronicon Paschale,[6] in the younger source

[3] *Theodosian Empresses. Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982), 114.

[4] 'Belisar und die Mauern von Konstantinopel', *Die Welt der Slaven* 5, Festgabe für E. Koschmieder (1960), 255–9.

[5] See P. Speck, review of H. Schlange-Schöningen, *Kaisertum und Bildungswesen im spätantiken Konstantinopel*, Historia Einzelschriften 94 (Stuttgart, 1995), to appear in *BZ* 90 (1997).

[6] John Malalas, *Chronicle*, book 14, 2–8: ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), 352 line 12–358 line 4; tr. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, Byzantina Australiensia 4 (Melbourne, 1986), 191–5. *Chronicon Paschale*: ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), 575 line 4–578 line 8; tr. M. Whitby and M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284–628 AD*, Translated texts for historians 7 (Liverpool, 1989), 66–8.

apparently in a more original version, and, what is more important, this original version looks like an attempt at restauration of a very corrupt text. It is as if someone in the sixth century literally found some pieces – sheets, fragments of papyrus – of the novel and tried to reconstruct a story of them, and as if this reconstruction found its way into the chronicles.[7] Finally, the story about Constantine and Sopatros is transmitted (fragmentarily, of course) in such essentially different versions,[8] that one might think about oral transmission, about storytellers (in this case even pagan storytellers!) sitting in the street and offering their entertainment: the orient of a thousand and one nights is not very far from late antique Rome and early Byzantium. Certainly, there is a lot of work to be done, hundreds of hopeful dissertations to be written, and one day even the question may be answered: why were the erotic novels regarded and transmitted as classical literature, while all other narrative was not?

Let us look to the historical background. By the end of the seventh century, Germanic tribes, Slavs and finally Arabs had almost destroyed the empire.[9] The last stroke was the most horrible, because the emperor Herakleios had just a few years before defeated the Persian empire, which had been for centuries the main enemy of the Romans. Of the whole empire, which formerly comprised all of the Mediterranean, all that remained at the end of the seventh century was Asia Minor and the Anatolian plateau up to the Taurus, Constantinople with a small strip of land around it, some towns on the coast (like Thessalonike, Athens [but not Patras], Dyrrachion, Split, Zadar and Venice, just finding its place), southern Italy and Sicily and some islands in the Aegean Sea. That's all. And these areas were not safe, but exposed to constant aggressions of all kinds.

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[7] A critical analysis of these versions in still a *desideratum*.

[8] See note 5 above.

[9] What follows is a theory about Byzantium in the Dark Ages, Iconoclasm and the Byzantine renaissance which I have developed over the years. All the necessary documentation will be found in the following publications: 'Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance', *Varia* 1, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 4 (Bonn, 1984), 175–210; 'Die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance', in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers* (New Rochelle NY, 1986), 555–76; 'Weitere überlegungen und Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance', *Varia* 2, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 6 (Bonn, 1987), 253–83; *Das geteilte Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 9 (Bonn, 1988); *Ich bin's nicht*; 'Wunderheilige und Bilder. Zur Frage des Beginns der Bilderverehrung', *Varia* 3, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 11 (Bonn, 1991), 163–247; 'Τὰ τῇδε βατταρίσματα πλάνα. Überlegungen zur Außendekoration der Chalke im achten Jahrhundert', in B. Borkopp, B. Schellewald and L. Theis, eds, *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte, Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben* (Amsterdam, 1995), 211–20; 'Die Affäre um Konstantin von Nakoleia. Zum Anfang des Ikonoklasmus', *BZ* 88 (1995), 148–54; 'Ideologische Ansprüche-historische Realität. Zum Problem des Selbstverständnisses der Byzantiner' in A. Hohlweg, ed., *Byzanz und seine Nachbarn*, Südosteuropa Jahrbuch 26 (Munich, 1996), 19–45.

This cruel and merciless catastrophe, which ushered in the so-called Dark Ages, had very many and different consequences that we must keep in mind when we discuss the further history of Byzantium. That this catastrophe is in principle denied by philhellenes, who want to prove a Greek tradition throughout the ages,[10] and almost always interpreted wrongly insofar as its importance is not fully recognized, underlines the importance of the issue.

What was lost as a consequence of this catastrophe? Here too I can give only a few aspects of the whole problem. Completely lost were a lot of techniques like the turning of columns or the casting of bronze. Completely lost also was the interest in and the preoccupation with ancient literature in the sense that the Second Sophistic had cultivated it. No more ancient texts were copied, no more tragedies or lyrics read, no more histories written or panegyrics composed. No, Herakleios is not the first emperor of the Middle Ages, as you usually read; he is the last emperor of antiquity: he employed a historian (Theophylaktos Simokattes) and a panegyrist (Georgios Pisides), both the last ones known to us. And the literature that came to be neglected comprised also all Christian writings that came along as part and parcel of the Second Sophistic.

A small *excursus*. When the Emperor Julian the Apostate made his attempt to restore pagan religion and culture, his most effective argument was that there should be once more an identity of teaching and believing as it had existed throughout the centuries: whoever teaches Homer has to believe in the gods of Homer, otherwise he might teach Mark und Luke. Julian's argument made members of the upper class who had converted to Christianity conscious for the first time that the they had become Christians but that they had remained educated Greek or Roman citizens as well. They had never thought of giving up the late antique culture they were educated in and which was the kernel of their self-understanding, and so the shock was great. That is the reason why we find so many reactions to Julian, whose measures as such were not very important and whose reign was anyway so short that they had no time to be realized. Basil the Great reacted by showing that allegorical interpretation can render tragedy and *epos* useful for the Christian pupil, and Gergory of Nazianzus began to write an enormous amount of poetry in hexameters, elegiac distichs and iambics, just to show that he was able to fill the skeleton of formal values of the antique literature with Christian truth and real beauty, so that children and pupils might read these works instead of Homer and Hesiod. Now, Gregory succeeded in being admired, but not at the cost of ancient authors, whose

[10] 'Jacob Phillip Fallmerayer' are the necessary keywords: see e.g. P. Speck, 'Schlecht geordnete Gedanken zum Philhellenismus', in A. Noe, ed., *Der Philhellenismus in der westeuropäischen Literatur 1780–1830* (Amsterdam, 1994), 1–16.

works remained the set-texts of school and education. In any event, at the beginning of the dark centuries, Gregory's poetic works too fell into oblivion and were read no more.

This end of literature in the sense of the Second Sophistic does not mean, however, that literature stopped generally and totally being produced. On the contrary. Novellistic literature, as mentioned earlier, florished to a high degree, as if being freed from the narrow rules of Atticism. An example is a novel about the emperor Herakleios: the emperor carries a picture of his daughter with him, so that the chief of the Turks falls in love with her and supports the emperor! In an almost Homeric singie combat the emperor fights with three Persians. The first and the second are not very remarkable; the third is the Persian commander-in-chief Rhazates himself, who with the first arrow hits the lip of Herakleios, with the second his ankle and with the third he would have met the heart and killed Herakleios from behind had not a friend of the emperor's cut Rhazates' arm just at the moment when he was about to shoot.[11] Similar stories exist about Leo III and Constantine VI: the marvellous gesture to give to the Bulgarian ambassodors, who came to recover the tribute, horsedroppings in a white scarf as tribute! The life of Philaretos the Merciful, although it is a compilation of different texts in the guise of a saint's life, is an excellent example of this kind of literature.[12]

We find, moreover, a new kind of liturgical poetry, the canon, and we find theology on a high level: we must not judge iconoclastic theology from the cheap pamphlets of the ninth century. Finally we have the writing of history, though not in the Attic historiographical tradition. But it is nevertheless a detailed and vivid reporting of the events, and it attempts to explain action and counteraction. In Theophanes the so-called report about Artabasdos belongs in this category,[13] as does the beginning of a detailed report about the Arab siege of Constantinople, and numerous protocols and short reports. In short, despite the desperate political situation, we find a normal and indeed intensive literary life. But life in general was not a simple continuation of what existed before with the classical aspect of the Second Sophistic removed; there was something new, which came about through dire need.

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[11] For this novel see also C. Ludwig, 'Kaiser Herakleios, Georgios Pisides und die Perserkriege', *Varia* 3, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 11 (Bonn, 1991), 73–128, here 101 note 54.

[12] Ed. M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, 'La vie de S. Philarète', *Byz* 9 (1934), 85–170. See now C. Ludwig, *Sonderformen byzantinischer Hagiographie und ihr literarisches Vorbild*, Berliner Byzantinistische Studien 3 (Frankfurt am Main, 1997).

[13] See P. Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren. Untersuchungen zur Revolte des Artabasdos und zur ihrer Darstellung in der byzantinischen Historiographie*, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 2 (Bonn, 1981).

I am talking about icons and Iconoclasm, an issue obscured by later iconophile propaganda which distorts the picture completely, and by modern interpretations which try to find correspondences with other aniconic sides of Christendom, like Calvinism, and attempt to establish a constant factor either of Christian behaviour or even – taking into account Judaism and Islam – of religious thinking generally. But what really happened? As the flourishing apocalyptic literature of the period attests, the big catastrophe had demonstrated *ad oculos* that no army was able to protect people and that the old empire with its external and internal peace had collapsed. In their need people turned to a new measure for help. Pictures of Christ, Mary and the saints, which had existed for centuries, were now called upon for help, which was expected to come from the person representated in the icon, as we now are allowed to call these pictures. When during the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626 the patriarch Sergios carried a picture of Christ around the city walls, it was Christ who was credited with saving the city.[14] So the cult of icons developed in the course of the seventh century, and reached its first climax in the beginning of the eighth. The icon is now believed to be able to protect what remains of the empire, and all of its inhabitants.[15] In the reduced empire, the icon becomes a sign of self-interpretation; it is the token of safety and rescue in this world as in the world to come.

Emperor Leo III was the first to realize the importance of this change. After the repulsion of the Arab attempt to conquer Constantinople – achieved also with an icon of Mary, carried around the walls by the patriarch Germanos in remembrance of his predecessor Sergios – the seaquake at Thera and Therasia in 726 was regarded by Leo as a sign from God to turn back to the real protector of the empire in its full greatnes, to the τρόπαιον of Constantine and Herakleios, the cross. Removing a relief of Christ at the Chalke Gate of the Palace, he had installed there a cross, bearing the inscription: ἐχθροὺς τροποῦμαι καὶ φονεύω βαρβάρους ('I drive out the enemies and kill the barbarians').

This is *not* Iconoclasm, but a declaration of Leo's intention to regain the old empire under the sign of the cross. And it was not Iconoclasm either, but just a first attempt to think over the new problem, when bishop Constantine of Nakoleia combined this measure of Leo's with the prohibition of pictures of the Old Testament. Patriarch Germanos, who was a repre-

[14] Only in a later interpretation was Christ replaced by the Virgin as protector of the city. See *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum des Georgios Pisides*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 24 (Munich, 1980), 106.

[15] As a secondary development, the Byzantines also began to believe that icons could protect their homes.

sentative of the 'modern' way of thinking, came to an arrangement, with Constantine of Nakoleia: veneration (i.e. προσκύνησις) befits only god.

During the next twenty years, nothing is heard about any divergence in belief. The retirement of Germanos in 730 had nothing to do with icons, but with imperial policy in Italy.[16] When Leo III died in 741, two men fought for succession: his son Constantine and Artabasdos, his brother-in-law. Of the two-year civil war between them only one detail is of interest here. Constantine, presumably an epileptic, was discredited by Artabasdos in his propaganda for not being able to govern because he was a fiend of Christ, a χριστομάχος. This seems to have created a wound in Constantine's psyche which never healed. Only under this assumption can we understand his later decisive steps to Iconoclasm proper.

In 746 a dreadful plague depopulated the empire. As his father had understood the seaquake, so Constantine saw this plague as a sign from God to continue the line his father had begun. It was proof too that he was the legitimate sucessor of his father. But while Leo III had understood God's order to pertain to the political aspects of regaining the empire, Constantine, perhaps following the intentions of Constantine of Nakoleia, interpreted the plague theologically. In response to Artabasdos' denial of the possibility that Constantine might venerate Christ, being a χριστομάχος, the central issue became the true veneration of Christ. According to Constantine, the true veneration of Christ cannot travel through images, but should be expressed in truth and obedience. And he ordered the patriarch to promulgate an edict directing that, as veneration (προσκύνησις) in church during the liturgy is done in the direction of the altar and the eucharist, there should be no pictures in this direction that might participate in the προσκύνησις. So pictures had to be removed from the templon, the ciborium, the altar and the eucharist cloths and the apses of churches.

Now the circle closes, for Constantine's edict was understood as an intervention against traditional Christian usage. Only now (and not earlier) do Rome and the other churches separate from Constantinople; and only now do the adversaries of Constantine develop the argument that, as Christ had been living in flesh, it must be possible to depict him, otherwise Christ would not have been man completely. Or, whoever denies the picture of Christ, denies Christ and his work of salvation; that person is a χριστομάχος, the same reproach that Artabasdos had uttered. Constantine understood the implication well: his ever-present distrust can only be explained by this.

What is more important, however, is that by these measures Constantine had given up the political aim of regaining the Roman empire under the sign of the cross that his father had supported. And as mere theology

[16] For details see my forthcoming monograph on the Emperor Leo III.

Iconoclasm had no chance, even if the cross remained the true token of Christ's triumph: the pictures had saved the remaining parts of the empire, and therefore the empress Eirene could reverse Constantine's decision in 787. From 815 the same game was played again until 843. There is nothing to comment upon. To venerate icons was to reconcile oneself with the reduced empire that actually existed.

This self-restraint was not easily achieved, especially given the ever-present memory of the Roman empire and the new situation in which Byzantium found itself. For the Greeks and the Romans, all neighbours had been wild, aggressive and dangerous barbarians without culture and education. But after 750, with the big catastrophe over and the changes and turbulences come to an end, when the Byzantines looked around they found two neighbours living on former Roman soil who were not barbarians at all; in fact, both showed signs of intellectually conquering the areas that they had already conquered militarily. Franks and Arabs differently, but with the same intensity, adopted Roman and Greek culture respectively. They learned, copied, collected or translated what they could find and maintained that they could do it better than the Romans (i.e. the Byzantines). And when the Byzantines recognized this, they understood that they themselves too had lost this antique culture their neighbours were trying to take over. The natural reaction was – and now finally we come to the ninth century – that the Byzantines had to demonstrate (primarily to themselves rather than to their neighbours) that they were the real heirs of antiquity. They had the continuity of empire and of language, and they had only to pick up the threads cut at the beginning of the Dark Ages and everything would be as before.

When we look at all expressions of culture and literature in the ninth century, we find these attempts to pick up the threads.[17] I will give very few examples. With material from the dossier of Synkellos, Nikephoros wrote a sort of atticistic history. Theodore the Stoudite wrote epigrams that form perfect and complicated acrostics. He is the first, too, to write encomiastic literature in the style of Georgios Pisides. While the Stoudite took as his subject the persecutions of monks during Iconoclasm, Ignatios the Deacon wrote about Michael II's victory against Thomas the Slav. Ignatios, rather a mediocre intellect, is actually the person to do most in this direction. He wrote anacreontic poetry and Aesopian myths, and promulgated a good classic education, which according to his writings he himself received from the patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros. And for the first time in

[17] That really only those threads were picked up that had been cut at the beginning of the Dark Ages is demonstrated by the fact that nothing else was taken up, e.g. neither lyrics nor dramatic poetry, which had been dead for centuries already in the sixth century, were written in the ninth.

centuries we find private support for higher education: the Caesar Bardas funded four teachers in a school at the Magnaura. Apart from the renovation of Roman law under Basil I,[18] the climax of this development appears in the writings of the patriarch Photios. With his *Lexikon*, the *Amphilochia* and the *Bibliotheke*, he directs some sort of a private seminar, where all work is done on a very high level and where the method is learning by doing, with pupils assisting Photios in collecting, excerpting and writing and then being corrected by Photios in turn – and learning a lot!

That all this was a kind of reaction, done with an eye on the neighbours, is suggested by many accounts. The most impressive is a legend about Leo the Mathematician, one of the teachers installed by Bardas at the Magnaura. Leo was the most educated man of his time. He had acquired his education not in Constantinople (there were not even the necessary books), but travelling through the provinces. Leo was ignored by everbody and lived a miserable life teaching in a draughty shack. One of his pupils became a prisoner of war in the caliphate. He astonished the caliph with his knowledge of mathematics, and, when he told the caliph that he had been taught by Leo, the caliph immediately sent an embassy to Byzantium, to bring Leo to the caliphate and to offer him a marvellous living there. Fortunately the emperor learnt about this offer to Leo and decided to make him an even better one, so that Leo did not need to leave the nation (τὸ ἔθνος); instead, according to the legend, he received a school of his own and could teach on the level that corresponded to his intellectual status.[19]

Even in the legend, it is the Arabs who first understand the value of mathematics;[20] the Byzantines react. The same is true with philosophy, as another legend, Arab this time, shows. The caliph sees Aristotle in a dream, and Aristotle tells him that it is now the turn of the Arabs to study his philosophy; the Greeks are no more interested or able to do so.[21]

In all parts of the former Roman empire now dominated by a strong state, we find similar attempts to acquire or re-acquire Roman culture. With the Franks this phenomenon is called the 'Carolingian Renaissance', in Byzantium the 'Byzantine Renaissance'[22] and for the Arabs 'Arab Renaissance' would not be inaccurate. If we look more closely we naturally

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[18] See P. Speck, 'Konstantinople – ein Modell für Bologna? Zur Gründung einer Rechtsschule durch Irnerius', *Varia* 3, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 11 (Bonn, 1991), 307–48, and M.T. Fögen's chapter in this volume.

[19] A different interpretation of this account (Theoph.Cont., 185–90) is given by Paul Magdalino later in this volume.

[20] Arab astrology was known in Byzantium perhaps already in the early ninth century: see the literature in G. Dagron, 'Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance (IX^{e} – XII^{e} siècle)', *TM* 12 (1994), 219–40, 235 note 94.

[21] See my 'Ikonoklasmus', 210 note 21.

[22] The older term 'Macedonian Renaissance' was coined by art historians, but the phenomenon began before the Macedonian dynasty.

find many differences: the Franks used Latin, the Byzantines Greek, both languages of the empire, whereas the Arabs worked with a 'new' language; but this is not so astonishing, as already Syriac (for example) had become a language of ancient culture. But one difference, a difference between Franks and Arabs on the one side and the Byzantines on the other, is more essential. I have noted already that the Byzantines reacted to the efforts of the Franks and the Arabs to justify culturally their presence on Roman soil after their military conquests. The Byzantines, however, did not feel any need to justify themselves: the soil was theirs, as was the empire and the emperor, and the culture, too. That they were able, and within a rather short time, to connect again the threads that had been cut at the beginning of the Dark Ages was the best proof that it was their own culture, their own literature that they were occupied with. And with time the Byzantines, who were so proud to connect the threads, believed themselves that there was never an interruption, that there were no Dark Ages at all. It became as if the cultural gap did not respond to a general breakdown of culture caused by the big catastrophies, but was only the consequence of the actions of some uneducated iconoclasts, who destroyed art and culture and killed all the good teachers of Constantinople.

So in final analysis the Byzantine Renaissance had the effect of neutralizing the Dark Ages; since they were regarded as non-existent, the big catastrophies of late antiquity with all their consequences were psychologically suppressed. So the Byzantines could live with the impression that nothing had happened, that there was still an ecumenical empire with only one emperor and one good and real culture, the Greek one of the Second Sophistic.

Furthermore, that the Byzantines were able to take over their own heritage, that they renewed what had been living until the seventh century, had a consequence. The Byzantine Renaissance was achieved, as I have said, with an eye on the neighbours, whose attempts at appropriating Roman culture had prompted the Byzantine reaction. The Byzantine reaction essentially said that 'What you, neighbours, you Franks and Arabs, are doing is adopting something strange which was originally not yours. It is not your tradition that you cultivate; you act like an usurper in cultural affairs. What we are doing is cultivating our own heritage, our own property, on which we are the only specialists. We know how to handle language, rhetorics and philosophy; and we have the best models to show us how'. The Byzantines were perfect at imitating the most perfect models; and without noticing it, they fell into a trap. Whereas for the Franks and the Arabs the adoption of ancient culture was essentially an impulse to go further, to try new ways and to follow new paths, for the Byzantines the classical heritage became a narrow tie, which did not allow them to move or to look around.

In the first period of the Renaissance nobody noticed this, because the Byzantines were really better and more efficient in adopting ancient models. But slowly Arabs and Franks caught up and surpassed Byzantium. If we look at the literature of Provence or at Dante's *Divine Comedy* or at Arabian Aristotelianism and geography, Byzantium remained behind, its authors were prouder than ever of their rhetorical skill and almost incomprehensible perfection in style.

But that is not all. All of the flourishing literature of the Dark Ages with its wonderful stories in a natural language came to an end, too. This did not happen abruptly. When Constantine VII continued for his son the collections his father Leo VI had begun for him, the language usually was not changed. It had a taste of the original and the old. But a few decades later Symeon Metaphrastes finished his work of rewriting a great number of lives of saints in a 'better' languge, so that Psellos could claim that these lives are understandable for the many and without reproach for the educated few. This ideal was of course is not obtainable in the eleventh century, if we look at it from our own perspective. But it expresses clearly the situation. What Psellos means and stresses is that in antiquity authors such as Sophokles or Demosthenes were understood by the majority without difficulties and at the same time highly appreciated by the most educated citizens of the *poleis*. Psellos asserts that Metaphrastes has achieved the same ideal for his time in hagiography: the metaphrastian lives are understandable for the many and enjoyable for the educated. After the Dark Ages, eleventh-century Byzantium had regained the level of ancient Greece in a Christian frame.[23]

As a result of this way of feeling and thinking, Byzantium deprived itself of all possibility of becoming again culturally productive in any sense. What it produced was a perfection of rhetoric – much more than was ever to be found in antiquity – a perfection of philology, and a perfection of the imitation of ancient art.

Sometimes, as in the beginning of the Byzantine Renaissance, impulses from abroad bring about something new. For example, the novel of the twelth century did not start simply from the intention of a Byzantine writer. French models[24] provoked the Byzantines to feel that they ought to be better again in their own way. Therefore the writers of the twelfth

[23] In the same sense, Psellos attacks all who prefer foreign thinking: see Dagron, 'Formes et fonctions', 237. For other interpretations see C. Rapp, 'Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians, Seventh to Tenth Centuries', *ByzF* 21, Bosphorus: Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango (1995), 31–44, esp. 37.

[24] The *chansons de geste*, which the Byzantine certainly first heard at the court of Manuel I Komnenos. The *romans d'antiquité* may be younger than the first Byzantine novel. See also E. Trapp. 'Learned and Vernacular Literature in Byzantium: Dichotomy or Symbiosis?', *DOP* 47 (1993). 115–129, here 118.

century adopted the material of the ancient erotic novel, which they expressed not in a new verse, as did the French, but in the traditional one of Pisides. In other words, the twelfth-century Byzantine novelists followed the pattern of French authors, but copied ancient material and used an ancient verse form.

The Byzantines too, had earlier created a new verse form, the political or fifteen syllable verse. In the beginning, they used it in grandiose fashion, as in the funeral poems for Leo VI, with their rich metaphors combined with rather intimate mourning, with their music and with their almost Venetian double choirs.[25] But when we read Theodore Prodromos on the same subjects some generations later, it has become boring – though the rhetoric is better!

To conclude. As a result of the great catastrophies, Byzantium developed a strategy of survival; theologically it is based on the icon, and ideologically it is based on the attempt to demonstrate a perfect continuation of antiquity without interrruption. Many historians of Byzantine culture praise this mimesis to the heavens, but they neither recognize the reason why a society satisfies all its cultural desires with perfect imitation, nor do they understand that exactly this attitude results, in the final analysis, in the cultural suicide of Byzantium, since it leaves no room for any original development or experience.

And when finally Byzantium shakes off the ties of the past and tries its own ways, it is too late. When the painter of Sopočani excels Giotto, he remains unknown until our times; and when Georgios Gemistos Plethon to a certain degree 'invents' the Italian Renaissance, he is admired in Florence and his corpse is transferred by Sigismondo Malatesta to Rimini – Byzantinists passing by should light a candle at his sarcophagus[26] – but Byzantium, already at the door of death, burns all his works and so has only the heritage of the Byzantine Renaissance to leave to modern Greece, which consequently has many of the same problems!

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[25] Note the complex system of refrains (*koukoulion* und *anaklomenon*: one poem being the refrain of another: ed. I. Ševčenko, 'Poems on the Deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes',*DOP* 23/4 [1969/70]]). We also have to presuppose such double choirs for the Akathistos hymn.

[26] Anthony Bryer, so far as I know the only person besides myself to do so, should be mentioned here – though not only for this reason.

8. Manifestations de la propagande en faveur de l'orthodoxie

Marie-France Auzépy

Le mot 'propagande' est étranger à Byzance, puisqu'il tire son origine de la *congregatio de propaganda fide*, la congrégation pour propager la foi, crée par la papauté au dix-septième siècle. Si l'église orientale a ignoré le mot comme l'institution, elle a fort bien connu le fait, notamment après ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le rétablissement des icônes en 787. Les textes écrits dans le court laps de temps, entre 787 et 815,[1] où l'emporta l'iconodoulie, ont été écrits *de propaganda fide*, pour propager la foi de Nicée II, même si les chroniques, naturellement, avaient un objectif plus large.

Bien que tout le monde soit d'accord sur ce point, ces textes ne sont pas classés sous la rubrique 'littérature de propagande'. Il y a plusieurs raisons à cela. La première est matérielle: du fait de la destruction des sources isauriennes, ces textes sont les uniques témoins de l'histoire de l'empire entre 730 et 787, de sorte que, comme ils ne peuvent pas, ou peu, être recoupés avec d'autres sources, leur partialité ne peut être exactement évaluée et passe, en fait, au second plan. Même si l'on sait que l'information qu'ils contiennent est biaisée, ils jouissent d'une sorte de prime de confiance du fait qu'ils occupent seuls le terrain et qu'aucune voix ne les contredit. Autre raison, liée d'ailleurs à la précédente, qui est, celle-là, idéologique: dans la mesure où les décisions de Nicée II fondent jusqu'à nos jours l'orthodoxie de l'église orientale, les fidèles de cette église considèrent ces textes comme vrais et, pour eux, la vérité au regard de la foi n'est pas dissociable de la vérité au regard de l'histoire; comme, d'autre part, l'église romaine a soutenu l'église orientale en la matière, car considérer l'iconoclasme comme une hérésie a convenu aux choix qu'elle a faits au cours

[1] En fait, la production d'une littérature de propagande iconodoule n'a pas été limitée à ces deux dates, qui bornent l'intermède iconodoule; elle a commencé avant le concile de Nicée II, pour le préparer (par exemple, *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*), et a continué après 815, comme littérature de résistance (par exemple, *Antirrhetici* de Nicéphore).

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de son histoire,[2] ces textes ont longtemps été considérés comme reflétant avec exactitude l'histoire de la période et leur lecture critique est encore, aux yeux de certains, sacrilège.

Cette lecture critique, beaucoup, depuis la fin du dix-neuvième siècle, l'ont entreprise, et je m'inscris dans leur lignée, mais il me semble qu'elle gagne à être éclairée par l'étude des *Actes* du concile de Nicée II. Leur lecture fait comprendre pourquoi la littérature iconodoule est une littérature de propagande: la décision prise au concile était une telle *kainotomia* que la propagande était nécessaire pour 'propager la foi' de Nicée II.

Cette affirmation est provocante, mais elle peut être argumentée. En premier lieu, la décision prise au concile n'était pas facile à faire accepter. Plaçons-nous en 787 pour l'expliquer. Pourquoi un concile, voulu et présenté comme oecuménique,[3] fut-il réuni à Nicée par l'impératrice Irène et le patriarche Taraise? Pour abolir le concile précédent de Hiéreia, qui avait aussi prétendu à l'oecuménicité.[4] Comment l'abolir, sinon en prenant des décisions inverses des siennes? Hiéreia avait interdit la fabrication d'icônes et rejeté leur culte,[5] Nicée II recommande leur fabrication et rend obligatoire le culte qui leur est rendu.[6] Mais il fallait supporter les conséquences d'un tel choix. Imposer les marques d'honneur, lumières, encens, baiser et prosternation, devant les icônes,[7] c'était imposer aux sujets de l'empire de faire des gestes que, depuis 754, c'est-à-dire depuis trente ans soit une

[2] Ce fut le cas au 8e siècle, quand l'iconoclasme impérial a donné un motif honorable au désir des papes de se dégager de la tutelle financière, voire politique, de l'empire, puis à leur rapprochement avec les Carolingiens (P. Classen, 'Italien zwischen Byzanz und dem Frankenreich', in *Nascita dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia: un'equazione da verificare*, Settimane 27 [Spoleto, 1981], 919–67; J. Gouillard, 'Aux origines de l'iconoclasme : le témoignage de Grégoire II?', *TM* 3 [Paris, 1968], 243–307; repr. dans idem, *La vie religieuse à Byzance* [Londres, 1981], étude IV); ce fut encore le cas aux 16e et 17e siècles, quand les empereurs isauriens furent considérés comme les ancêtres des réformés, eux aussi iconoclastes (cf. traduction de passages du concile de Nicée II dans Molanus, *Traité des saintes images* 1, trad. F. Boespflug, O. Christin et B. Tassel [Paris, 1996], 93–120; traduction du passage du concile de Trente à propos des images où est rappelé le concile de Nicée II, dans l'ouvrage de L. Maimbourg, *Histoire de l'hérésie des iconoclastes et de la translation de l'empire aux François* [Paris, 1686], 489–92, que lisait Mme de Sévigné pour distraire sa solitude aux Rochers [lettre 453, éd. R. Duchêne, II, 175; voir aussi lettre 607 et 1169]).

[3] Théoph., 459–60 (cf. I. Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes, Quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715–813*, BBA 57 [Berlin, 1991], 241–2); les *Actes* du concile de Nicée II sont édités dans Mansi; l'*Actio* 6 du concile (réfutation de l'*horos* de Hiéreia) est traduite en anglais dans D.J. Sahas, *Icon and Logos* (Toronto, 1986); oecuménicité de Nicée II: entre autres, séance inaugurale: Mansi XII, 991E; *horos*: Mansi XIII, 373D (cf. P. Henry, 'Initial Eastern Assesments of the Seventh Oecumenical Council', *JTS*, n.s. 25 [1974], 75–92).

[4] Mansi XIII, 208D, 340DE.

[5] Mansi XIII, 328C, 337C, 340A, 341C, 341E, 344C, 345CD.

[6] Mansi XIII, 377–80.

[7] Mansi XIII, 377E.

génération, l'Église avait, en la personne du patriarche et des évêques, qualifiés d'idolâtres et interdits pour cette raison.[8] Entre 754 et 787, si l'on donnait des marques d'honneur à une icône, on était idolâtre et anathématisé pour ce motif;[9] après 787, il fallait leur rendre des marques d'honneur, c'est-à-dire être idolâtre selon la loi de l'Église qui avait prévalu jusqu'en 787, pour ne pas être excommunié.[10] Quelle que fût la légitimité de sa décision, Nicée II mettait en place un changement radical de la foi. Une campagne d'explication et de justification, fondée sur des arguments forts et persuasifs, en un mot une campagne de propagande, était indispensable pour faire accepter aux sujets de l'empire un tel retournement. Les instigateurs du concile n'ignoraient pas que cette campagne devait être d'autant plus musclée que la ligne précédente de l'Église, l'iconoclasme, avait bénéficié du prestige des empereurs isauriens, qui avaient brillé par leurs victoires et leur longévité[11] et qui semblent n'avoir pas été des novices en matière de propagande.[12] Ils l'ignoraient d'autant moins que le concile avait été imposé contre l'armée[13] et de nombreux évêques[14] et que, si l'on en croit les *Libri Carolini*, leur décision avait entraîné une véritable guerre civile.[15]

D'autre part, rendre le culte des icônes obligatoire en réaction contre l'iconoclasme de Hiéreia entraînait les instigateurs de Nicée II sur un terrain difficile, dans la mesure où leur décision les forçait à innover: leur concile était le premier à légiférer non sur le dogme, mais sur une forme de dévotion. Certes, Constantin V et les évêques de Hiéreia les avaient précédés dans cette voie, mais ils avaient pu fonder l'iconoclasme, de manière traditionnelle, sur des arguments scripturaires grâce, notamment, à Exode 20:4,[16] et sur des arguments christologiques,[17] en mettant en avant

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[8] Acclamations des évêques de Hiéreia aux empereurs: 'Vous avez anéanti toute idolâtrie' (Mansi XIII, 353C); *retractatio* de Basile d'Ancyre à Nicée II: 'à ceux qui rapportent aux vénérables images les mots de la divine écriture concernant les idoles, anathème; à ceux qui disent que les Chrétiens vont vers les images comme vers des dieux, anathème; à ceux qui appellent idoles les images sacrées, anathème; à ceux qui disent que, outre le Christ notre Dieu, un autre nous a délivrés des idoles, anathème' (Mansi XII, 1010E).

[9] Mansi XIII, 328C.

[10] Voir la liste d'anathèmes portés à Nicée II: anathème porté deux fois contre ceux qui n'embrassent pas les icônes (Mansi XIII, 397CD).

[11] Interprétées par leurs partisans comme un signe que Dieu approuvait l'iconoclasme (Nicéphore, *Antirrheticus* III, 70–72: *PG* 100: 504–8; Théoph., 496, 501).

[12] Cf. la cérémonie de dérision des moines à l'hippodrome (Théoph., 437–8); et, peut-être, une production hagiographique employant elle aussi la dérision (M.-F. Auzépy, 'L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes', *BSl* 53 [1992], 57–67).

[13] Mansi XII, 989–90; Théoph., 461–2; Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert*, 243–6.

[14] Mansi XII, 989–90.

[15] *Libri Carolini*, éd. H. Bastgen (*MGH Legum Sectio* 3,2 *Supplementum* [Hanovre, 1924], désormais abrégé *LC*), II 24, 83; préf. au l. III, 103.

[16] Mansi XIII, 284C–285B.

[17] Mansi XIII, 241, 244, 252, 257–60.

l'incirconscribilité de la nature divine du Christ.[18] En revanche, si l'on pouvait trouver des autorités, sinon scripturaires, du moins patristiques, en faveur de la représentation du Christ,[19] aucun passage de l'écriture, et bien peu des pères de l'Église, ne permettait de légitimer le culte des icônes. Les instigateurs de Nicée II se trouvaient donc dans une situation périlleuse: les autorités conciliaires traditionnelles leur faisaient défaut alors même que leurs décisions avaient besoin d'être défendues par des arguments irréfutables. Ils résolurent ce dilemne en se tournant vers de nouvelles sources, hissées par eux au rang d'autorités conciliaires, qu'elles fussent écrites – ce sont les sources hagiographiques[20] – ou non écrites, comme la coutume,[21] ou, pour employer la phraséologie du concile, la tradition non écrite de l'Église.[22] Dans la tradition, en effet, et nulle part ailleurs, se trouvaient les traces des pratiques en usage dans l'Église, des formes de dévotion que le concile avait décidé de généraliser.

Ainsi, le concile de Nicée II cumulait les difficultés, qui furent d'ailleurs soigneusement relevées par les Occidentaux dans les *Libri Carolini*: l'oecuménicité qu'il revendiquait, et qui lui était indispensable pour l'emporter en hiérarchie sur le concile de Hiéreia, était douteuse;[23] les autorités sur lesquelles il avait fondé sa légitimité étaient à la fois nouvelles et traditionnellement placées au bas de la hiérarchie des sources;[24] il imposait une décision qui, dans la longue durée, était un retour au passé, puisque le culte rendu aux icônes est bien attesté au sixième siècle et s'est répandu au

[18] Mansi XIII, 256. Argument fort que le patriarche Nicéphore réfute avec difficulté dans les deux premiers *Antirrhetici* (*PG* 100: 205–373).

[19] Les citations patristiques en faveur de la représentation du Christ avaient été rassemblées par Jean Damascène (*Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres* [*CPG* 8045; *BHG* 1391e–g], éd. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* 3, Patristische Texte und Studien 17 [Berlin et New York, 1975]); un certain nombre furent lues à Nicée II (répertoriées dans P. van den Ven, 'La patristique et l'hagiographie au concile de Nicée de 787', *Byz* 25/27 [1957], 325–62); elles étaient peut-être extraites du florilège iconodoule contenu dans le Paris.gr.1115 (A. Alexakis, 'Some remarks on the colophon of the codex Parisinus Graecus 1115', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 22 [1992], 131–43; idem, 'Stephen of Bostra: Fragmenta Contra Iudaeos (*CPG* 7790)', *JÖB* 43 [1993], 45–60).

[20] Utilisées pour la première fois comme *testimonia* et répertoriées par van den Ven (voir note 19).

[21] Nicéphore, *Antirrheticus* III, 7 et 8: *PG* 100: 385 B-389 B.

[22] La partie finale de l'*horos* de Nicée II, où sont consignées les décisions du concile, commence par ces mots: 'Et pour résumer, toutes les traditions de l'église qui nous ont été prescrites par écrit ou de façon non-écrite, nous les gardons sans nouveauté' (Mansi XIII, 377B); le mot tradition (*παράδοσις*) y est par ailleurs employé cinq fois en une demi-page (Mansi XIII, 377B, 377C, 377E, 380A, 380B).

[23] *LC* III, 7; IV, 12; IV, 28.

[24] Le culte des icônes n'est fondé ni sur l'écriture ni sur l'enseignement des pères de l'église: *LC* II, 25; I, 17, p. 42, 38–40; II, 21, p. 80, 9–11; III, 14, p.131, 19–21.

septième siècle,[25] mais qui, en 787, constituait un changement brutal de la ligne officiellement tenue par l'empereur depuis 730 et par l'Église depuis 754. Ces faiblesses étaient autant de handicaps qu'il fallait compenser, en les niant ou en les retournant en faveur de l'iconodoulie, ce qui fut fait lors des sessions du concile, grâce à une série d'arguments que nous allons maintenant présenter. Les textes écrits entre 787 et 815 se sont en effet contenté de les reprendre en y ajoutant une attaque contre les Isauriens que le concile, convoqué par Constantin VI et sa mère, pouvait difficilement mener.

Le premier argument consiste à démontrer la non-oecuménicité de Hiéreia,[26] ce qui n'était pas difficile, puisque le pape n'y avait pas été représenté, et ce qui faisait ressortir l'oecuménicité de Nicée II, par ailleurs affirmée tout au long des *Actes* grâce à la mention 'topotèrètes des sièges orientaux',[27] donnée de façon fallacieuse à deux moines venus d'Orient.[28]

Un autre argument consiste, comme nous l'avons dit, à mettre en avant la tradition, écrite et non écrite, de l'Église, garante de la légitimité du culte des icônes. Mais cette tradition qui, en ce qui concerne les icônes, ne remonte pas au-delà du sixième siècle,[29] les *Actes* du concile la font remonter jusqu'à l'époque du Christ.[30] Ce déplacement chronologique est essentiel, car il pallie la carence scripturaire: l'écriture ne mentionne pas l'image du Christ, mais la tradition de l'Église témoigne de son existence, comme le montrent les exemples de l'icône d'Abgar[31] et du groupe de l'hémorrhoïsse à Panéas.[32] Ce déplacement est essentiel aussi pour une autre raison: il donne leur sens à l'iconoclasme et à l'iconodoulie au regard de l'histoire de l'Église. Les iconoclastes avaient soutenu à Hiéreia que le

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[25] Il paraissait acquis que les images auxquelles on rend un culte, c'est-à-dire les icônes proprement dites, n'étaient pas apparues avant le sixième siècle (E. Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm', *DOP* 8 [1954], 83–150); mais l'analyse de la lettre d'Eusèbe de Césarée à Constantia par A.I. Sidorov ('Poslanie Evsevija Kesarijskogo k Konstancii. K voprosu ob idejnyh istocnikah ikonoborcestva', *VV* 51 [1991], 58–73; connue par le compte-rendu d'I. Sorlin, 'Bulletin des publications en langues slaves, Les recherches soviétiques sur l'histoire byzantine, V. 1986–1991', *TM* 12 [1994], 501–48, spécialement 518–19), tendrait à montrer que les deux courants, celui de la dévotion aux images et celui de son refus, dateraient au moins du début du quatrième siècle.

[26] Mansi XIII, 208; argument repris par la *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*: *PG* 100: 1144; M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre; Introduction, édition et traduction*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 3 (Aldershot, 1997), 142–5 (trans. 239–44).

[27] Première mention: Mansi XII, 994A.

[28] Cf. Henry, 'Initial Eastern Assessments'.

[29] Voir note 25.

[30] Mansi XIII, 132E, 157E, 196D, 201BC, 217E–220A, 228AB, 240A, 241A, 293CD, 328D, 348BE, 404D, 409D.

[31] Mansi XIII, 189E–192C.

[32] Mansi XIII, 268D.

culte des icônes était une sorte de mode, qui s'était généralisée après le VIe concile (680);[33] ils avaient interprété cet engouement pour les icônes comme un glissement vers l'idolâtrie et avaient décidé, pour cette raison, de l'interdire. Affirmer, à Nicée II, que ce culte n'avait rien d'une mode, mais qu'il était enraciné dans la tradition de l'Église depuis le temps du Christ, soutenir, au mépris de l'évidence, que cette tradition avait été confirmée par les six conciles oecuméniques,[34] c'était faire de l'iconodoulie la loi de l'Église depuis sa fondation. En conséquence, l'iconoclasme n'était pas une réponse appropriée à un phénomène ponctuel, mais le bouleversement d'une tradition aussi ancienne que le Christ, une *καινοτομία* gratuite et mauvaise. L'argument est faux, mais il est capital, car il permet aux instigateurs de Nicée II de retourner contre leurs adversaires le reproche qui aurait pu leur être fait, et qui leur fut fait par les Carolingiens,[35] de bouleverser la foi. Grâce à lui, il était possible de présenter l'iconodoulie comme le rétablissement légitime de la tradition apostolique, un moment interrompue par la révolution iconoclaste, de la présenter, en un mot, comme l'orthodoxie.

Le concile dut aussi répondre à l'accusation d'idolâtrie portée à Hiéreia contre le culte des icônes. Plusieurs réponses furent données: la plus efficace fut l'affirmation de la relation entre le prototype et son image, fondée sur la fameuse phrase de Basile de Césarée, 'l'honneur rendu à l'image passe au prototype'.[36] Autre argument, lié au précédent: le nom inscrit sur l'icône écarte le risque d'idolâtrie,[37] en identifiant de manière indubitable la personne représentée. Enfin, une image chrétienne ne peut être une idole, puisque le Christ, du fait même de sa présence, a rendu caducs le paganisme et l'idolâtrie.[38] L'icône étant chrétienne et l'idole païenne, il ne peut y avoir aucune relation entre elles et qualifier l'icône d'idole est une preuve de confusion et de manque de foi.

La plupart de ces arguments, notamment celui de la tradition et de la non-idolâtrie de principe du christianisme, sont des arguments d'autorité.[39] Ils

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[33] Mansi XIII, 217A, 221C et 225D; cf. Nicéphore, *Antirrheticus* I, 9 et I, 11: *PG* 100: 216CD et 220CD.

[34] Mansi XIII, 220B; argument repris, sous une forme un peu différente, dans la *Nouthésia* (éd. Mélioranskij, XXV) et dans les deux versions d'*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* (*PG* 95: 320CD; cf. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 380 sq.).

[35] *LC* II, 24; III, 7; IV, 24; IV, 28.

[36] Mansi XIII, 252B, 324B, 328D.

[37] Mansi XIII, 252D, 257D, 261D, 269E, 301C, 340E, 344B, 416D.

[38] Mansi XIII, 132A, 288B, 331A, 353D–356A, 373E, 404D.

[39] Exemple presque caricatural de l'argument d'autorité: 'Qui ne sait que, si l'icône est déshonorée, c'est sur celui dont c'est l'icône que le déshonneur rejaillit? Cela, la vérité le sait et la nature des choses l'enseigne et les divins pères s'accordent avec elle' (suivent des citations de Basile, Athanase et Chrysostome, concernant d'ailleurs les images de l'empereur): Mansi XIII, 325D.

n'ont pas à être discutés, ils doivent être crus.[40] De fait, utiliser l'argument de la tradition implique le recours à la foi, puisque la véracité de la tradition ne peut pas être prouvée. Ainsi, l'existence d'icônes du Christ contemporaines de leur modèle ne pouvait être prouvée par des textes, puisque l'icône d'Abgar n'est pas évoquée avant le sixième siècle[41] et que le groupe de Panéas est un groupe antique, considéré comme une représentation du Christ au quatrième siècle.[42] Elle ne peut donc qu'être affirmée et considérée comme une vérité de foi.

Ce recours à la foi, la foi du charbonnier qui croit sans chercher à comprendre, demande à être analysé. Tout d'abord, il consacre la montée en puissance de l'Église: c'est elle qui décide que l'iconodoulie remonte au temps du Christ et qui l'intègre dans sa tradition et c'est elle qui met son poids dans la balance pour l'imposer comme une vérité de foi.[43] De façon significative, le syntagme 'l'Église catholique et apostolique', nouveau dans le vocabulaire des conciles oecuméniques, est constamment employé à Nicée II.[44] L'Église orientale s'est alors voulue assez forte pour imposer ce qu'elle avait décidé être sa tradition comme un fondement de la religion chrétienne, au même titre que l'évangile et l'exégèse patristique.[45] Il n'est guère étonnant qu'elle ait au même moment donné aux textes hagiographiques une autorité qui leur avait été refusée jusqu'alors, car les textes hagiographiques privilégient eux aussi la foi: l'efficacité de la sainteté ne peut être démontrée par la raison, elle doit être crue, comme le montrent les fréquentes mises en scène d'incrédules châtiés qu'on y rencontre. Ce

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[40] Voir l'insistance de Nicéphore sur la foi, adhésion totale 'aux enseignements de l'Église universelle': *Antirrheticus* III, 2: *PG* 100: 377CD.

[41] Par Évagre dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique* (IV, 27), à propos du siège d'Édesse par Chosroès en 544: J. Bidez et L. Parmentier, *Evagrius, The Ecclesiastical History* (Londres, 1898, réimpr. Amsterdam, 1964), 175–7; tr. française A.J. Festugière, *Byz* 45 (1975) 386–8.

[42] Groupe statuaire (un homme debout, une femme à genoux) probablement hellénistique, que certains disent, dès le début du quatrième siècle, être une image du Christ et de l'hémorroïsse: Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire Ecclesiastique* 7, 18; éd. G. Bardy, *SC* 41 (Paris 1955), 191–2. Détruit sous Julien, réinventé (P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pélerinages d'Orient* [Paris, 1985], 334–5) et désormais situé dans une église que Malalas visite au 6e siècle (Malalas 10: éd. L. Dindorf [Bonn, 1831], 237–9). Considéré, au huitième siècle, comme une preuve de l'existence d'images du Christ du vivant de celui-ci (Jean Damascène, *Imag.* 3, 68–9: éd. Kotter, 171–3; lettre de Germain à Thomas de Claudiopolis, citée à Nicée II: Mansi XIII, 125D–128A).

[43] Voir les références données à la note 30.

[44] La formule 'l'Église catholique et apostolique' ne fait pas partie du vocabulaire des conciles de Constantinople (680) et in Trullo (692), si elle fut fréquemment employée au concile de Latran (649); elle est omniprésente dans les *Actes* de Nicée II; à titre d'exemple, elle est employée huit fois dans l'*horos* (Mansi XIII, 373E–380B).

[45] 'Ainsi est affermi l'enseignement de nos saints pères, c'est-à-dire la tradition de l'église catholique ...': telle est la phrase qui suit les décisions concrètes prises dans l'*horos* de Nicée II (Mansi XIII, 380A).

recours à la foi, enfin, est une rupture avec le passé, rupture qui exclut pour l'avenir les efforts de réflexion en matière de religion. L'iconoclasme est en effet présenté à Nicée II comme la conséquence inévitable d'une tentative orgueilleuse pour réfléchir par soi-même, interprété comme le signe d'un manque de foi (ἀπιστία): c'est parce qu'ils avaient raisonné par eux-mêmes[46] que Constantin V et les évêques de Hiéreia avaient établi une doctrine révolutionnaire. Les instigateurs de Nicée II veulent rendre impossible dans l'avenir des tentatives de cet ordre en assimilant le raisonnement en matière de religion à l'incrédulité, au manque de foi (ἀπιστία).[47] Il n'est pas indifférent que l'Église orientale prône le recours à la foi au moment où elle impose l'image. La nouvelle orthodoxie est sensible, et non intellectuelle; point n'est besoin de penser pour croire, il suffit de voir.

Les choix faits à Nicée II expliquent la forme des *Actes*. Le raisonnement était exclu, pour les raisons que nous venons d'expliquer, de sorte que la réfutation des *Actes* de Hiéreia lue à l'*Actio* VI de Nicée II se présente non comme une démonstration, mais comme une suite d'affirmations qui doivent être acceptées et crues. Le performatif règne, bloquant toute possibilité de discussion et de contradiction. Prenons pour exemple la phrase, moult fois répétée dans les *Actes*: 'le Christ a aboli l'idolâtrie'. Du fait même qu'elle est énoncée, elle clôt le débat, car elle entraîne automatiquement la condamnation de ceux qui disent que le christianisme peut tomber dans l'idolâtrie. Autre méthode, l'interrogation rhétorique, par exemple 'qui a jamais porté l'injustice à ce point?',[48] interrogation qui est en fait une affirmation, puisque la réponse est contenue dans la question. Citons aussi l'appel à la sensibilité par l'interjection. Que répondre à celui qui soupire ou fulmine: 'quelle folie!'?[49] Seule l'adhésion est possible. Je reviendrai sur les formes de la propagande, mais je voudrais seulement montrer ici que ces formes sont déjà en germe dans les *Actes* du concile et dérivent de la décison prise à Nicée II.

Différents caractères qui définissent la propagande se trouvent ainsi réunis à Nicée II: la volonté de rompre avec le passé proche, le refus affiché de l'intellectualisme et l'appel à la foi. Tout cela est mis au service, non d'un

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[46] Dans la *refutatio* (*Actio* 6), il est souvent reproché aux iconoclastes d'avoir voulu imposer par orgueil leur avis, fondé sur leurs propres élucubrations, au lieu d'appliquer à la lettre la tradition de l'Église: Mansi XIII, 217B, 232A, 232D, 325B. Ils ont été 'leurs propres didascales': Mansi XIII, 256E, 260C, 333CD, 376B.

[47] Demander des preuves, c'est être critique à la manière des Juifs (Nicéphore, *Antirrheticus* III, 1: *PG* 100: 377 BC); raisonner est le propre de l'*apistia* (*Antirrheticus* III, 2: *PG* 100: 377D–380B; III, 82, *PG* 100: 525).

[48] Mansi XIII, 225E; cf. Mansi XIII, 249A, 249E, 333A.

[49] L'interjection est fréquente; sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité: Mansi XIII, 225E, 232C, 237E1, 244D, 301A1, 344D1.

homme, mais d'une institution, l'Église. Mais l'Église de Constantinople, à dire vrai le patriarche Taraise, eut la très grande habileté de présenter la rupture avec le passé proche comme un retour à la tradition fondatrice de l'institution, de sorte que le concile apparût comme une *κάθαρσις* et non comme une *καινοτομία*. Le concile fut soutenu par une série de textes qui ajoutèrent aux arguments exposés en 787 un versant agressif; la haine de l'ennemi, partie intégrante de toute propagande, fut facilement intégrée au dispositif mis en place au concile; en l'occurrence, l'ennemi désigné fut les empereurs isauriens, Léon III et Constantin V.

Le volet polémique de la propagande iconodoule est bien connu.[50] Il est cependant utile de le mettre en relation avec l'affirmation, à Nicée II, de la tradition de l'Église, tradition au nom de laquelle furent prises les décisions concernant la vie religieuse. Une telle affirmation impliquait en effet que l'empereur fût désormais privé de son rôle traditionnel de responsable de l'unité religieuse de l'Empire et de la foi de ses sujets: ce n'était plus lui, mais l'Église, seule interprète de sa propre tradition, qui assumait ce rôle. La déconsidération des empereurs isauriens, qui avaient, plus fermement encore que leurs prédecesseurs, pris des décisions en matière religieuse, était un moyen efficace, et peu dangereux après 802, de justifier l'annexion d'un domaine auparavant dévolu à l'empereur. La violence de l'attaque contre les Isauriens est à la mesure de l'enjeu et ses formes adéquates à l'objectif.

Les Isauriens furent en effet accusés de n'être pas chrétiens, et cela à deux titres. Tout d'abord, et le vieux fond de la polémique contre l'hérésie et contre les Juifs est là réactualisé, ils étaient inspirés par le diable[51] et étaient en fait païens,[52] ils raisonnaient à la juive[53] et se conduisaient comme des Sarracènes;[54] affirmation dont fut donnée une version narrative dans la légende du ou des sorciers Juifs promettant à Léon III, après Yazīd, un long règne s'il détruisait les icônes.[55] Ensuite, ils se sont exclus de la chrétienté

[50] Il a été étudié en détail par Paul Speck, notamment dans *Ich bin's nicht*.

[51] Topos, employé aussi bien par Constantin V (Mansi XIII, 212E) qu'au concile de Nicée II (Mansi XIII, 213AB); voir aussi la *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (*PG* 100:1109CD; éd. Auzépy, 119 [trans. 211]).

[52] Mansi XIII, 208E, 332A; *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (*PG* 100:1157; éd. Auzépy, 154–7 [trans. 252–5]).

[53] L'argumentation de l'ancien dans la *Nouthésia* est essentiellement fondée sur ce point (éd. Mélioranskij, X–XIII), et l'accusation portée contre les Isauriens de penser à la juive est devenu un topos dès le concile de Nicée II; elle est relevée, pour s'en indigner, dans les *Libri Carolini* (*LC* I, 27–8; IV, 6).

[54] Théoph., 402, 405 ligne 14, 406; Nicéphore, *Antirrheticus* III, 6: *PG* 100:385A.

[55] Légende présente dans de nombreuses oeuvres de la polémique (*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* [version longue], *Narratio* de Jean dit de Jérusalem, *Antirrhetici* de Nicéphore, *Epistula ad Theophilum*) et dans la *Chronique* de Théophane: récapitulatif et analyse dans S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources*, CSCO 346, Subsidia 41 (Louvain, 1973), 59–84, et dans Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*.

parce qu'ils ont détruit l'image du Christ ce qui, en vertu du lien entre prototype et image établi à Nicée II, signifie qu'ils ont détruit le Christ lui-même.[56] Les Isauriens furent aussi accusés d'avoir fait un mauvais usage du pouvoir impérial en outrepassant leur fonction: ils avaient pris des décisions dans un domaine, celui de la religion, qui n'est pas le leur, mais celui de l'Église. Cela fut dit dès le concile,[57] et répété dans les oeuvres de la polémique dont une citation favorite est 'Rendez à César...'.[58] L'attaque est poussée plus loin encore contre Constantin V, accusé d'avoir été assez fou pour se hausser à la place même du Christ, en se disant le destructeur de l'idolâtrie.[59]

L'Isaurien est ainsi un non-chrétien, ce qui signifie qu'il peut advenir que l'empereur ne soit pas chrétien, et c'est un empereur atteint d'hybris qui attaque son créateur dans son image et dans son Église. Au moyen des textes de la polémique, l'Église juge l'hérétique, mais également l'empereur: c'est elle qui dit si l'empereur est digne ou non de sa fonction.[60]

La défense d'un domaine propre de l'Église, indépendant de l'empereur, n'est pas nouvelle en soi, puisqu'elle avait été développée à Rome lors de la crise monothélite, mais, en 787, elle est nouvelle à Constantinople où elle porte atteinte à la définition traditionnelle de l'empereur chrétien. La polémique anti-isaurienne va plus loin encore; il ne lui suffit pas de diaboliser l'empereur qui prend des décisions en matière religieuse, il lui faut aussi montrer que l'Église est seule représentante du Christ sur cette terre. La polémique est le lieu où se manifeste la concurrence féroce que l'Église entretient à ce moment-là avec l'empereur pour lui ravir la place extraordinaire qu'il occupait depuis Constantin 'd'image du Christ'.[61] Le fait que les Isauriens aient été, depuis Nicée II, hérétiques permettait de les attaquer en tant qu'empereurs, sans crainte de représailles puisqu'ils n'avaient plus de descendants susceptibles de monter sur le trône. Pour conforter la position de l'Église, la polémique a ainsi fait endosser à

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[56] Nicéphore, *Antirrhetici* I, 27; III, 47: *PG* 100: 276C, 465–8.

[57] Définition limitative du domaine de l'empereur: Mansi XIII, 356AC.

[58] Jean Damascène, *Imag.* 2, 12: éd. Kotter, 103–4; *Adversus Iconoclastas*: *PG* 96: 1361B; Nicéphore, *Antirrheticus* III, 11: *PG* 100: 392D–393A.

[59] À Nicée II, l'anathème est porté contre ceux qui disent qu'un autre que le Christ 'nous a délivrés des idoles' (Mansi XII, 1010E–1011A; Mansi XIII, 397E, 416B); une telle affirmation anéantit l'enseignement du Christ (Mansi XIII, 353E–356 A; 409E–412 A); repris dans la *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (*PG* 100:1121; éd. Auzépy, 126–8 [trans. 221–4]).

[60] Voir la *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (*PG* 100: 1112 et 1120–11; éd. Auzépy, 120–21, 126–8 (trans. 213–14, 221–4).

[61] 'L'empereur est honoré comme une image de Dieu' et 'il porte l'image de Dieu et, grâce à lui, possède le pouvoir sur tous': Agapet le Diacre, *Ekthesis* 21 et 37; éd. R. Riedinger, *Agapetos Diakonos, Der Fürstenspiegel für Kaiser Iustinianos*, Κέντρον Βυζαντινών Ερευνών 4 (Athènes, 1995), 38 et 50.

Constantin V le rôle de compétiteur du Christ et a fait dire à Léon III 'je suis empereur et prêtre'.[62]

Or cette Église n'est pas seulement un concept abstrait, c'est aussi, très concrètement, un ensemble de clercs et de moines, puisque le concile de Nicée II a fait participer, pour la première fois, les moines aux décisions conciliaires.[63] Et cet ensemble a un chef, le patriarche de Constantinople. Taraise l'a montré au concile de Nicée II dont il fut l'instigateur et le génial artisan. Quant aux ouvrages parus entre 780 et 820, qu'ils soient polémiques (la *Nouthésia*, la *Narratio* de Jean dit de Jérusalem, l'*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* dans sa version longue, les lettres de Grégoire II, les *Antirrhetici*), qu'ils soient hagiographiques (la *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*) ou historiques (la *Chronique* de Théophane et le *Breviarium* de Nicéphore), ils furent écrits par des hommes d'Église. Plus précisément, la plupart furent écrits par des gens qui appartenaient au patriarcat de Constantinople ou dépendaient plus ou moins directement de lui: sans parler de Nicéphore, qui fut patriarche, Jean dit de Jérusalem est une créature de Taraise,[64] Étienne le Diacre était diacre de Sainte-Sophie sous le patriarcat de Nicéphore,[65] et la *Chronique* de Théophane fut, pour une part qui reste à déterminer, écrite par Georges le Syncelle, syncelle du patriarcat de Constantinople.[66]

Au vu de ces différents éléments, j'interprète la campagne de propagande iconodoule entre 787 et 815 comme une campagne menée par le patriarcat de Constantinople contre le pouvoir impérial de manière à acquérir une autonomie, sinon identique, du moins comparable à celle qu'avait acquise la papauté dans le courant du huitième siècle. Le concile de Nicée II est le coup d'envoi, le mobile, et le modèle de cette campagne, car, en choisissant l'iconodoulie contre l'iconoclasme impérial, Taraise a mis l'église de Constantinople en mesure d'imposer sa propre tradition comme un élément fondateur de la religion chrétienne, et lui a permis de poser 'l'Église catholique et apostolique' comme un tout dont l'empereur avait pour seule mission de défendre la sécurité. Durant la période qui suit le concile, les deux éléments, défense de l'icône et expulsion de l'empereur hors du domaine de l'Église, sont indissociables: en défendant l'icône et son culte, l'Église de Constantinople se défend elle-même.

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[62] Lettre de Grégoire II, 293: éd. Gouillard, 298–9; cf. G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996).

[63] M.- F. Auzépy, 'La place des moines à Nicée II (787)', *Byz* 58 (1988), 5–21.

[64] C'est Taraise qui en fait un 'délégué des patriarcats orientaux' (cf. Théodore Stoudite, *Lettres*, éd. Fatouros, Ep. 38, 63–73) et qui le prend avec lui pour tenter de convaincre Conastantin VI de ne pas se séparer de sa femme (Vie du patriarche Taraise par Ignace le Diacre [*BHG* 1698]: éd. I. A. Heikel, dans *Acta societatis scientiarum Fennicae* 17 [Helsinski, 1891], 410–11).

[65] Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, 5–9.

[66] Sur ce point, voir en dernier lieu Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert*, 40–41, et I. Ševčenko, 'The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800', *DOP* 46, Homo Byzantinus, Papers in honor of Alexander Kazhdan (1992), 279–93.

Après avoir défini les raisons et les arguments de la propagande iconodoule, je voudrais en venir maintenant à ses méthodes et à ses formes. Ni les unes ni les autres ne sont neuves, mais leur champ d'application est en revanche nouveau.

Diverses méthodes furent employées dans les textes écrits pour servir la cause de la nouvelle orthodoxie. La plus éprouvée est naturellement l'altération de citation, y compris scripturaire, citée ici pour mémoire. Une autre méthode bien rôdée, la fabrication de faux, fut surtout utilisée sous sa variante 'aménagement d'un texte authentique'. Le patriarche Taraise avait donné l'exemple en incorporant aux *Actes* de Nicée II une version incomplète de la lettre du pape Hadrien aux empereurs Constantin et Irène.[67] Dans la lettre de Grégoire II et l'*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, l'exemple patriarcal est suivi et le procédé affiné: à partir d'un socle authentique, lettre du pape à l'empereur dans le premier cas[68] et, selon moi, synodique du patriarche Jean de Jérusalem dans le second,[69] les remanieurs ont retranché du texte original ce qui pouvait les gêner et gardé ce qui pouvait leur être utile; ils ont hâché menu ce reliquat, l'ont truffé d'ajouts de leur cru, qui peuvent varier en longueur de trois mots à une dizaine de pages, avec une maestria qui se mesure à la somme de discussions érudites que leurs textes ont engendrées. Dans le cas de l'*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, le dernier remanieur a ainsi introduit un long historique de l'iconoclasme, particulièrement injurieux pour les Isauriens.[70] Était ainsi produit, pour les besoins de la cause, un faux document, qui était authentifié autant par le noyau d'authenticité qu'il contenait que par son titre – lettre de Grégoire II à Léon III ou lettre de Jean Damascène à Constantin V. Cette méthode, que l'on pourrait appeler 'transformation d'un authentique en faux', a pour objet de mêler inextricablement la défense de l'icône et l'attaque contre les empereurs qui l'ont détruite: à partir de textes qui défendaient respectueusement la représentation face à l'empereur iconoclaste, furent produits des textes qui attaquaient furieusement l'empereur transgresseur (*παραβάτης*).

Autre méthode, assez proche de la précédente et également traditionnelle, le remploi, parfois actualisé, de textes antérieurs dans des textes narratifs: ainsi, l'*Epistula ad Theophilum*, texte polémique plus tardif, reprend-il de larges extraits de la *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* pour décrire le règne de Constantin

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[67] Mansi XII, 1055–76.

[68] Gouillard, 'Aux origines'; en faveur d'une authenticité plus grande: H. Grotz, 'Zwei Briefe Papst Gregors II', *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae* 18 (1980), 9–40.

[69] M.- F. Auzépy, 'L'*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* et Jean de Jérusalem', *BSl* 56, STEPHANOS, Studia byzantina ac slavica Vladimiro Vavřínek ad annum sexagesimum quintum dedicata (1995), 323–38.

[70] *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* 18–23: *PG* 95: 336–41; cf. Auzépy, 'L'Adversus', 333–5.

V.[71] Enfin, la production de légendes est un autre moyen de servir la cause: celle des magiciens juifs, déjà évoquée, celle de la défécation de Constantin V bébé dans la cuve baptismale, rapportée dans la *Chronique* de Théophane,[72] en sont de beaux exemples, auxquels on peut ajouter, à mon avis, le récit de la destruction de l'icône de la Chalcé par Léon III dans la *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*.[73] Or ces légendes sont fréquemment employées: des passages de l'épisode de la Chalcé raconté dans la *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, par exemple, sont remployés dans cinq textes postérieurs.[74] Grâce au jeu des remplois, ces légendes ont constitué, dans le courant du neuvième siècle, une histoire narrative du règne des Isauriens, qui a été reprise par les chroniqueurs et qui a de ce fait durablement installé les Isauriens à la place de persécuteurs possédés par le diable.[75]

Grâce à ces méthodes, et du fait de la disparition des sources autres qu'ecclésiastiques, l'Église de Constantinople a fait triompher sa version du règne de la dynastie isaurienne et cette version, qui fait de l'empereur chrétien un persécuteur païen, est directement inspirée des catégories hagiographiques. Cela est nouveau, mais la nouveauté ne tient pas aux méthodes, qui sont éprouvées; elle tient à l'objet auxquel ces méthodes furent appliquées, l'histoire d'une dynastie, et au renversement de perspective, puisque les empereurs sont mis à la place du persécuteur, occupée jadis par leurs lointains prédécesseurs païens. L'Église de Constantinople a utilisé le mode hagiographique comme une arme littéraire et narrative en faveur d'une conception de l'Empire qui lui était propre, car, en traitant l'histoire de l'Empire comme une Vie de saint, elle n'a pas seulement réglé ses comptes avec l'empereur hérétique, elle n'a pas seulement défendu son domaine face à l'empereur, elle s'est aussi emparé du sien et lui a appliqué un mode de pensée et un mode de narration qui n'appartenaient qu'à elle.

Un dernier mot sur les formes de la propagande. Une particularité des textes écrits après 787 est la prolifération des adjectifs épithètes. L'exemple le plus frappant est le syntagme figé 'les saintes et vénérables icônes', systématique après Nicée II. La qualification, portée par l'épithète, a la même

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[71] Voir l'édition de l'*Epistula* par H. Gauer, *Texte zum byzantinischen Bilderstreit: der Synodalbrief der drei Patriarchen des Ostens von 836 und seine Verwandlung in sieben Jahrunderten*, Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik 1 (Francfort, 1994).

[72] Théoph., 400; *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* 20: *PG* 95: 337AB; cf. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 159–60.

[73] M.-F. Auzépy, 'La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalcé par Léon III: propagande ou réalité?', *Byz* 60 (1990), 445–92.

[74] Ce sont: le *Synaxaire de Constantinople* (Théodosie, 828–29; dix martyrs de la Chalcé, 879–80), Georges le Moine (éd. C. de Boor [Leipzig, 1904], 743), *Epistula ad Theophilum* (*PG* 95: 361), *Passion des Martyrs de la Chalcé* (*AASS*, August II, 441).

[75] I. Rochow, *Kaiser Konstantin V. (741–755), Materialen zu seinem Leben und Nachleben*, Berliner Byzantinistische Studien 1 (Francfort, 1994), 131–46.

valeur sémantique que le performatif: les icônes ne peuvent être que saintes et vénérables. L'épithète est aussi utile d'un point de vue politique: qualifié tout au long des récits qui le concernent de *παράνομος βασιλεύς*[76] ou d'*ἀσέβης βασιλεύς*,[77] l'empereur isaurien ne peut agir que conformément à sa qualité, et ses actions, même positives, sont jugées négatives par le lecteur; inversement, Irène, parce qu'elle a choisi l'icône et convoqué le concile de Nicée II, est qualifiée d'*εὐσεβέστατη*,[78] et cette qualité l'emporte sur les méfaits qu'elle a commis, notamment l'aveuglement de l'empereur son fils.

L'usage immodéré des épithètes dans les textes post-nicéens suggère que l'Église a puisé dans un autre de ses répertoires littéraires, celui de l'hymnographie, pour parfaire la panoplie de sa propagande. L'épithète est en effet un trait de style des hymnographes, et notamment d'André de Crète, un des plus célèbres d'entre eux au huitième siècle. Ainsi l'hymnographie vient-elle soutenir l'hagiographie: le récit appliqué à l'histoire est hagiographique et son style est hymnographique. La recette est bonne parce qu'elle réunit deux modèles efficaces: l'auditeur ou le lecteur reconnaît un type de récit qu'il connaît bien et qu'il est habitué à croire, et le jugement moral, déjà présent dans le récit, est accentué par le martèlement des épithètes. Seul un incrédule, désormais hérétique, pourrait ne pas croire que les Isauriens étaient des possédés.

Les textes écrits après Nicée II méritent l'appellation 'littérature de propagande'. Propagande pour propager la foi de Nicée II, mais aussi pour faire de l'Église de Constantinople une puissance indépendante de l'empereur. L'iconodoulie a été le moyen utilisé par cette Église, comme elle l'avait été cinquante ans plus tôt par l'Église de Rome, pour se dégager de la tutelle impériale. Les mêmes méthodes, notamment la production de faux, ont été employées. Mais l'Église de Constantinople n'était pas dans la même situation que l'Église de Rome et devait tenir compte du fait que le palais impérial était en face de Sainte-Sophie: l'équivalent de la *Donation de Constantin* n'était pas envisageable. Aussi s'est-elle tournée vers l'histoire qu'elle a récrite selon ses propres modèles narratifs et dans son style, de sorte qu'elle a transformé l'histoire de la dynastie isaurienne en une 'histoire de l'Église' destinée à décourager les velléités des futurs empereurs désireux de soumettre l'Église à leur pouvoir. Un *exemplum* à l'usage des empereurs, en quelque sorte. L'Église de Constantinople n'a pas gagné du premier coup, mais elle a triomphé en même temps que l'icône en 843: son histoire est devenue l'histoire, sa langue s'est imposée, le patriarche est désormais le

[76] Par exemple, Léon III dans Théoph., 407 ligne 15; 412 ligne 2.

[77] Par exemple, Léon III dans Théoph., 404 ligne 3; 405 ligne 24; 406 ligne 16; 408 ligne 32; Constantin V dans la *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*: *PG* 100: 1120A2; éd. Auzépy, 126 ligne 2.

[78] Théoph., 475 ligne 28; 476 ligne 5.

chef d'un domaine dont l'empereur est exclu et peut même prétendre, dans un texte officiel, être 'l'image du Christ'.[79] L'assurance d'un Photios, celle d'un Nicolas Mystikos sont fondées sur le succès de la campagne de propagande menée à partir du concile de Nicée II.

[79] *Eisagoge* III, 1.

9. Canon and calendar: the role of a ninth-century hymnographer in shaping the celebration of the saints*

Nancy Patterson Ševčenko

Joseph the Hymnographer

The life of the ninth-century poet Joseph the Hymnographer contains two episodes of particular interest. The first is an event that took place while the saint was in captivity on Crete, probably in the year 842, just before the end of Iconoclasm. As related in the *Vita* of Joseph, written soon after the saint's death by his successor Theophanes, the story unfolds like this:

Joseph, while on a mission from Constantinople to Rome, was captured by the Arabs on the high seas, and imprisoned, with his fellow passengers, on the island of Crete. There, 'exulting in his chains', as the text says, he set about encouraging the disheartened prisoners with prayers and hymnody. He even succeeded in converting a prominent bishop from his heretical, iconoclastic beliefs. One night a dignified figure appeared to Joseph in his prison cell, a figure described only as ἱεροπρεπής, clad in a stole. The figure announced that he had just come from Myra. 'You all know who *he* is', says the author of the *vita*, but he does not identify the mysterious figure – presumably St Nicholas – by name. 'Take this scroll', said the visitor. So Joseph took the scroll in his hands, and read it, singing out the words: Τάχυνον ὁ οἰκτίρμων καὶ σπεῦσον ὡς ἐλεήμων εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ἡμῶν ... ('Hasten, merciful one, and in compassion come quickly to our aid ...'), a refrain from Romanos' kontakion on the Three Hebrews. Early the next morning, says Joseph's biographer, that which had been sung about

* I wish to thank Dr Leslie Brubaker for inviting me to participate in the art historical session of the Spring Symposium, although the paper I gave turned out to have had rather too little art history in it to have warranted such a kindness. In the preparation of this paper, I have benefitted greatly from discussion and correspondence with Dr Mary Cunningham.

miraculously came to pass. Joseph was released and returned to Constantinople.[1]

This story was taken up in the Synaxarion notice for Joseph, and became an essential part of the legend about the saint.[2] A later *vita* of Joseph, that written by John, deacon of Hagia Sophia, in the late tenth or early eleventh century, elaborates the tale somewhat, adding that the event took place on Christmas eve, that the visitor (still unnamed) had grey hair, and that Joseph was ordered to eat the scroll. In John's version Joseph's release did not have to wait until morning: as he sung the words of the hymn, his feet were loosened from the stocks and the chains fell from his neck; then the visitor told him, 'Accompany me', and Joseph found himself high in the air, bound for Constantinople.[3] In this, as in all versions of Joseph's life, the experience on Crete is what turned the saint to the writing of hymnography.

The other episode concerns Joseph's literary activity after his return. Theophanes, his first biographer, merely describes how Joseph composed melodies to be sung to what he calls the friends of God: to the chorus of apostles, the community of prophets, the host of martyrs, the companies of ascetics, the choirs of monks, and to innumerable other saints, as well as intercessory hymns to the merciful God, on the Passion of the Lord, and his hanging on the holy cross, and appeals to the Mother of God. 'Oh, how can I say it?', asks Theophanes, (and here I paraphrase) 'with what ease, with what elegance and speed, how tirelessly and effortlessly – I can't begin to describe it here. What freedom, what clarity of style, what rhythm! Who of us does not benefit from these songs every single day? Joseph is blessed in the tongues of us all, and glorified in all the churches. And having given his own voice to all, and taken on the failings of each as his own, he persuades us all to ransom his own sins.' The biographer later begs Joseph, now in heaven, to use the good will he has earned with the saints

[1] The *Vita* of Joseph by Theophanes (*BHG* 944), ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in his *Sbornik grečeskikh i latinskikh pamiatnikov kasaiuscikhsia Fotiia patriarkha* (Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia) 2 (St Petersburg, 1901), 1–14, esp. 6–7. For the text of the Romanos kontakion, see P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica genuina* (Oxford, 1963), 380–94 (no. 46).

[2] H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris (Brussels, 1962), 582–3. Here the scroll has become a book, the figure is clad in apostolic garb and identified as St Andrew, although in recension D (Paris, B.N. gr. 1587 of the twelfth century), and in the version published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta*, 14–17, the figure claims to have come from Myra. Much work remains to be done on this aspect of the legend. Joseph also gave particular honour to St Bartholomew: he is supposed to have brought relics of this saint with him from Thessalonike, and dedicated a church to him (and to his master Gregory the Dekapolite) in Constantinople: Papadopoulos-Kerameus *Monumenta*, 8 lines 8–14.

[3] For the life of Joseph by John the Deacon (*BHG* 945), see *PG* 105: 939–76, esp. 960. The command to eat the scroll echoes the Virgin's command to Romanos the Melode, also made on Christmas eve; see, for example, Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 96 lines 5–18.

whom he has glorified in song to strengthen the plea which he is making on our behalf.[4]

John the Deacon, the later biographer of Joseph, turns this image into one of the more appealing visions in all Byzantium. At the moment of Joseph's death, says John, a certain pious man heard a voice telling him to go outside and look. 'And he saw the vault of heaven had parted, and the orders of the heavenly host were coming forth, not as a single group, but first the chiefs of the apostles with their entire company, then the martyrs, then the prophets and the bands of those who led the holy life, and the collection of hierarchs. The man said to himself, "What *is* this I am witnessing?" And he heard the voice again, saying, "You are seeing what is going to take place." And he saw four youths with wings resting on their shoulders, holding in their midst what seemed like a young girl. And they spoke to the choirs of saints, telling them, "Receive this blessed soul, who has composed so many melodies to you, and imitated you in his life. " And the man saw all the saints embracing the soul joyfully, with the Mother of God leading the way.'

The man, though, was still at a loss; 'Who *is* it that is being honoured in this extraordinary way?' he asked. And he heard the thrilling voice of the angels carrying the soul: 'This is Joseph, the adornment of the churches, who imitated the life of the apostles and martyrs and honoured them with hymns. God has so arranged it that not a single saint from any era will be absent, but they will all come out to welcome him'. And at that moment the entire heaven emptied out, and all the orders of the inhabitants of heaven came to pay Joseph homage.[5]

God's insistence that every single saint be involved in this welcome seems to have inspired one further story, which is found in some versions of the Synaxarion notice for Joseph. A man who was trying to locate his escaped slave went for help to the shrine of St Theodore Phanerotes. After three days and nights of prayer, the man was about to give up and go home, when St Theodore finally appeared. 'Joseph the poet died last night', said the saint, explaining his absence, 'and all of us whom he had honoured in his canons went to escort his soul. But now I am back here to help: go to such-and-such a spot, and there you'll find the servant you are looking for'.[6]

In this paper I will deal with some of the themes announced in these texts: with the role of Joseph the Hymnographer in shaping and codifying the

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[4] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta*, 8 line 27–9 line 18, 13 line 31–14 line 5.

[5] *PG* 105: 973A–976A. The passage evidently reflects contemporary Last Judgement imagery (the choirs of diverse categories of the blessed) as well as Koimesis imagery (the angels' reception of the soul of the Virgin).

[6] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta*, 17 lines 10–20; Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 584 lines 3–20.

celebration of the saints, with his possible role in furthering the cult of St Nicholas in particular, and with the ambitious character of this whole hagiographic enterprise.

First, a word about Joseph's career.[7] Born c. 816, that is, more than a generation after the heroes of Iconoclasm such as Theodore of Stoudion and Nikephoros, in the distant province of Sicily, Joseph's life nonetheless drew him ever closer to Constantinople and to the centres of power in the immediate post-iconoclastic period. His parents, fleeing from Arab raids on Sicily, moved while he was still a boy to a new home in the Peloponnese. By the age of fifteen, Joseph had gone to Thessalonike and become a monk, possibly at the Latomou monastery. There he attracted the notice of Gregory the Dekapolite, who brought him to Constantinople around 840 as his disciple. The political situation under Theophilos having deteriorated, Gregory was persuaded in 841 to send Joseph on a mission to Rome to present the iconophile cause to the pope. This mission, as we saw, got waylaid, and by the time Joseph was released from prison on Crete, Iconoclasm was almost over; it is thought that Joseph was already back in Constantinople on the March day of 843 when the triumph of orthodoxy was proclaimed. His master Gregory had died the autumn before.

Joseph soon began the writing of hymns. Joined by too many disciples for the space at hand, he founded his own monastery sometime around 850. An association with the patriarch Ignatios led to his banishment in 858 to Cherson, but, with the accession of Basil I and the return of Ignatios to the patriarchate in 867, Joseph too was summoned home and honoured with the position of skeuophylax of Hagia Sophia, to which he was appointed by the emperor Basil himself. Even after Ignatios died, Photios maintained Joseph in this position, and continued to treat him with respect. When Joseph fell ill, and saw his end was near, he paid a last visit to Photios, bringing along an inventory of the possessions 'of his flock'. He died a week later, on the third of April, probably in the year 886.

Joseph and the canons to the saints

Though honoured by the emperor Basil I and by two rival patriarchs, it is as an author of specifically monastic texts that Joseph is best known. An astonishing number of 466 liturgical canons bear his name in the form of an acrostic in the last ode of the canon, and have been attributed to him by E. Tomadakes; if all of these are indeed his, this would mean that he wrote

[7] E.I. Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ὑμνογράφος. Βίος καὶ ἔργον* (Athens, 1971), and the review of this book by D. Stiernon, 'Le vie et l'oeuvre de S. Joseph l'hymnographe', *REB* 31 (1975), 243–66. See also D. Stiernon in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (1974), 1349–54, and the entry on Joseph in *ODB* 2, 1074.

one – or more than one – canon for nearly every day of the year.[8] He is rightly considered the primary author of the Menaia, for which he is thought to have written 385 canons to saints.

How many of these canons are really his is a question we are simply not yet in a position to answer; the statements I will be making here will naturally have to remain provisional until some kind of critical edition is made available. Certainly some canons can already be rejected: a canon to Theodora of Thessalonike, for example, is unlikely to be his, since Theodora died after Joseph did, in 892, and there are sure to be other anomalies in the corpus of canons drawn up by Tomadakes.[9] But whether or not Joseph wrote each and every canon himself, his reputation for having done so spread quite rapidly: his disciple Theophanes marvels over his fluency and speed of execution. Though Joseph's name does not appear in the Typikon of the Great Church, which dates to c. 900, he is honoured in the Synaxarion of Constantinople, and the hymns by Joseph are recommended for use day after day in monastic typika such as that of the eleventh-century Evergetis monastery in Constantinople.[10] John Mauropous, himself an author of numerous canons in honour of saints, viewed himself as a successor and imitator of Joseph, and wrote a series of eight canons in Joseph's honour.[11] Portraits of Joseph start appearing in churches of the twelfth century.[12]

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[8] There is a large literature devoted to the question of the authorship of the many canons containing the name Joseph in their acrostic: see Tomadakes, *Ἰωσήφ*, 83–8; A. Phytrakes, *Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ὑμνογράφος καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Στουδίτης καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν Ἰωσὴφ* (Athens, 1970). Tomadakis has argued that those containing the name of Joseph as the acrostic of the last ode of the canon are those most likely to be by our *Ἰωσὴφ* (*Joseph*, 89–92). The main contender is Joseph of Stoudion (Joseph of Thessalonike), the brother of Theodore of Stoudion: see D. Stiernon in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 8 (1974), 1405–8. The various arguments are explored in the latter's review of Tomadakes' book (see note 7 above). I have accepted the arguments of Tomadakes, which give to our Joseph many of the canons in the Menaion, to Joseph of Thessalonike the canons in the Triodion and Pentekostarion.

[9] E.g. the encaenia of the church of St George at Lydda is celebrated by Joseph with a canon (no. 78) that is known apparently only from printed Menaia; the encaenia of this church is not noted in any of the Synaxaria edited by Delehaye. The date of this event is uncertain.

[10] Typikon of the Great Church: J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols (Rome, 1962–63); Synaxarion: Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 581–4; Evergetis Typikon: A.A. Dmitrievski, *Opisanie liturgičeskikh rukopisei* 1 (Kiev, 1895, repr. Hildesheim, 1965), 256–499, *passim*.

[11] E. Follieri, 'Giovanni Mauropode metropolita di Euchaita. Otto canoni paracletici a N.S. Gesù Cristo', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 5 (1967), 3–200, esp. 20–22; F. D'Aiuto, *Tre canoni di Giovanni Mauropode in onore di santi militari*, Accademia Nationale dei Lincei, Supplemento 13 al 'Bollettino dei Classici' (1994), 21. See also E. Follieri, 'The "Living Heirmologion" in the Hymnographic Production of John Mauropus, Metropolitan of Euchaita', *Studies in Eastern Chant* 4 (1979) 54–75.

[12] The earliest portrait of Joseph is that in the church of St Panteleimon at Nerezi (1164). On this and later portraits, see G. Babić, 'Les moines-poètes dans l'église de la Mère de Dieu à Studenica', *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200* (Belgrade, 1988), 205–16, esp. 210–12.

Just what was the nature of this enterprise, praised so highly by contemporaries both for its literary value and for its completeness? It was this: for dozens of famous saints, for dozens more totally obscure, shadowy figures that had at the time no more identity than a date in the calendar and a name, and for his own friends and contemporaries; for each of these Joseph composed a canon to be sung at orthros on the feast day of the saint.

The canon consists of a sequence of odes – usually eight are used – each of which is loosely based in theme on one of the nine Biblical canticles.[13] Each ode comprises two, three or even more verses, so that an entire canon will consist of several dozen verses praising the saint for his or her virtues and appealing to the saint for protection. The form itself was not new, and not of course Joseph's invention: the Palestinian hymnographers of the seventh and eighth centuries such as Andrew of Crete, Kosmas, and John of Damascus had already composed canons for eastertide and for some of the major feasts of the church year.[14] The Stoudite hymnographers of the generation just before Joseph, such as Theophanes Graptos and Joseph of Stoudion, Theodore's brother, had themselves been busy writing hymns, especially for the Lenten period.[15] But very few of Joseph's predecessors had written canons addressed to *saints*: this was his great contribution.[16]

The production of these canons – and production is just what it seems to have been – must have been a considerable undertaking. At just what point in his life these canons were written is hard to say: Tomadakes suggests he was particularly active between 850 and 858, after he had founded his new monastery, but before he was banished.[17] Wherever he was working, there had to have been some considerable scrambling for information regarding all these saints, for however vague the allusions to the saint's career could be, given the poetic nature of the canon, what did have to be determined before the poetry could begin to flow was whether the saint was in fact a martyr or a bishop or a deacon or a virgin. Even determining this was not always an easy task. Where, we wonder, did the information come from? What were Joseph's sources? The calendars of saints included at the end of Gospel lectionaries, for example, usually offer no more

[13] On the canon, see E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1961), 198–239; D. Conomos, *Byzantine Hymnography and Byzantine Chant* (Brookline, 1984), esp. 22–5.

[14] On the canons of Cosmas (to whom canons on four different saints are attributed), see T. Detorakes, *Κοσμᾶς ὁ μελωδός. Βίος καὶ ἔργο* (Thessalonike, 1979); on those by John of Damascus and Andrew of Crete, see the references in the entries on these saints in the *ODB*.

[15] On the canons of Theophanes, see references in the entry in the *ODB;* for those of Joseph, see D. Stiernon in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 8 (1974), 1405–8.

[16] Another ninth-century hymnographer who wrote occasional canons for saints is Clement: A.P. Kazhdan, 'An Oxymoron: Individual Features of a Byzantine Hymnographer', *RSBN* 29 (1992), 19–58.

[17] Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ*, 58–9.

than a name.[18] The energy expended during Iconoclasm on the finding and authentication of texts relating to images was now apparently being expended on collecting information – any information – about vast numbers of obscure saints.[19] And the paucity of concrete information in many a canon, which is usually attributed to encomiastic vagueness or to the emptiness of the poetic genre, may in certain cases have had a quite simple explanation: no information on the saint was currently available.

The Parakletike and the cult of St Nicholas

There is a further corollary to be explored, namely, the role of the hymnographer in promoting the cause of a particular saint, past or present. Joseph, for example, wrote three canons and a kontakion to his master Gregory the Dekapolite, and a canon and a kontakion to Patriarch Ignatios; he wrote a canon to Ioannikios, and one to Andrew in Krisei.[20] He honoured lesser figures as well: he is said to have composed an entire akolouthia for Peter of Athos, and he may have written a canon to a colleague from his early days, known only as the ascetic John.[21] To what extent did his compositions result in the introduction of a new saint into the calendar? There are saints among the list of canons attributed to Joseph who either do not appear in other Byzantine calendars, or have only the barest of notices: we in fact know nothing about them today other than what we can glean from Joseph's canon. Might some of these, such as the mysterious Arsenios the Younger, be in fact his contemporaries, figures he deemed holy enough to merit a canon, but whom posterity seems to have neglected?[22]

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[18] The translation of one twelfth-century calendar of saints can be found in J.C. Anderson's *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*, College Art Association Monographs 48 (University Park, 1992), 43–59. For a wider selection of calendars, see C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des neuen Testaments* 1 (Leipzig, 1900), 365–84.

[19] John the Deacon asks rhetorically, 'Does anyone want to know about the life of the saint of the day?' and answers that one need only to listen to Joseph's canon (*PG* 105: 965C); Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ*, 80. One wonders whether perhaps the real effort at composing canons for so many different saints was undertaken only after Joseph became skeuophylax of the Great Church, where more documentation may have been available than in his monastery.

[20] Kontakia to Gregory and Ignatios: E. Mioni, 'I kontakia inediti di Giuseppe innografo', *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 2 (1948), 87–98, 177–92, esp. 177–82. Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ*, canons nos. 100–102, kontakion 3; canon no. 60 and kontakion 2; canon no. 79; canon no. 51. The canon to Andrew in Krisei has been used to date a life of that saint, M.-F. Auzépy, 'De Philarète, de sa famille, et de certains monastères de Constantinople', in C. Jolivet-Lévy, M. Kaplan, and J.-P. Sodini, eds, *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance. Textes, images et monuments* (Paris, 1993), 117–35, esp. 129 and note 66 (the acrostic bearing the name of Joseph is actually in the ninth ode, not in the Theotokion).

[21] Peter of Athos: D. Papachryssanthou, 'L'office ancien de Pierre l'Athonite', *AnBoll* 88 (1970), 27–41. Peter is not listed in the Synaxarion, except in a note added by another hand to the entry for June 12 in a manuscript dated 1249 (Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 745 lines 45–6). John: Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ*, canon no. 205; cf. Stiernon's review of Tomadakes (cited in note 7 above), 262.

At any rate, the contribution of this hymnographer should not be overlooked in any investigation of the development of the Constantinopolitan calendar.

With this in mind, it is worth our inquiring whether there is any evidence to suggest that Joseph was involved in any way in promoting his benefactor, St Nicholas, who first begins to be widely recognized in the capital in this very period, the second half of the ninth century? The evidence is by no means clear, but it is suggestive enough to warrant a bit of investigation.

Because of the extraordinary later fame of St Nicholas it is often assumed that the saint was well-known throughout the empire from the very moment of his demise.[23] In fact, his cult spread from Lycia to Constantinople rather slowly. Prokopios mentions a church of SS Priscus and Nicholas near Blachernai, but few other early sanctuaries are known.[24] SS Ioannikios and Peter of Atroa independently visited a chapel (*eukterion*) dedicated to St Nicholas situated above the monastery of Balaios, in Bithynia near Mount Olympos: here Peter went to die after his visit to Ioannikios in 837, and from here Peter's remains were eventually collected.[25] But a search of the Dumbarton Oaks ninth-century database has yielded no additional early churches dedicated to him.[26]

The Nicholas we know today is of course a conflation of two different Lycian saints, the fourth-century Bishop of Myra and the sixth-century Abbot of Sion. The first hagiographical texts for both saints Nicholas date from the sixth century; new texts in honour of the bishop of Myra, both prose and

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[22] Arsenios the Younger (1 January): Tomadakes, *Ἰωσηφ*, canon no. 153. Other shadowy figures are Neadios the thaumatourgos (16 May), referred to elsewhere simply as 'our holy father Neadios'; Niketas, bishop of Chalcedon (28 May) and Peter of Crete, the Younger (16 July), both referred to in the Synaxarion only as martyrs; Zacharias in Charsianon (24 March), referred to in the Synaxarion as a monk and enkleistos, with no location given. Of these, only Neadios and Peter of Crete appear in the Evergetis typikon.

[23] On the cult of St Nicholas, see the still unsurpassed G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaus in der griechischen Kirche*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1913, 1917). A chapter on the early cult of Nicholas is contained in my book, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin, 1983), 18–24. See also C.W. Jones, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan* (Chicago, 1978); G. Otranto, ed., *San Nicola di Bari e la sua basilica. Culto, arte, tradizione* (Milan, 1987).

[24] The church of SS Nicholas and Priscus built by Justinian may actually have been dedicated to a different Nicholas entirely, a martyr who only later came to be identified with Nicholas of Myra. See G. Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington DC, 1984), 337–8; cf. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* 2, 454–9, and my *Nicholas*, 19 and note 8. For this and other churches of St Nicholas in Constantinople, see Janin, *Églises*, 368–77. The Synaxarion celebrates three martyrs, Priscus, Martinus and Nicholas, on December 7 and also on September 22, at Blachernai: Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 285 lines 1–4, 70 lines 14–19.

[25] Ioannikios: *AASS* November 2.1:370C; Peter of Atroa: V. Laurent, *La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa (d. 837)* (Brussels, 1956), 215.

[26] I wish to thank Dr Alice-Mary Talbot and Stamatina McGrath for assisting me in using this valuable database based on hagiographical sources.

poetic, began to be written in the capital only in the first half of the ninth, and proliferate only in the second half, and it was not before the end of the ninth century that the two saints were merged into one, and their stories combined.[27]

The surviving artistic evidence follows roughly the same pattern: there are a couple of early portraits of the saint attributed to Palestine, but none of what survives from the capital can be safely dated before the tenth century.[28] The evidence of lost monuments, however, shows that by the third quarter of the ninth century, the cult of St Nicholas had found favour in the

[27] Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* 2. There is a brief epigram to Nicholas by George of Pisidia (seventh century): ed. L. Sternbach, 'Georgii Pisidae carmina inedita', *Wiener Studien* 13 (1891), 17, no. XV. An epigram to Nicholas and Polycarpus in the Anthologia Palatina (*AP* I, 89), is dated by M. Lauxtermann, *The Byzantine Epigram in the 9th and 10th centuries* (Amsterdam 1994), 61–2, to the early ninth century mainly because Nicholas plays second fiddle to Polycarp. The authorship of an Encomium to Nicholas attributed to Andrew of Crete has not been resolved; Anrich claims it is a text of the second half of the ninth century (*Hagios Nikolaos* 1, 419–28 and 2, 346–56), although M.-F. Auzépy, 'La carrière d'André de Crète', *BZ* 88 (1995), 1–12, esp. 7–9, apparently accepts it as authentic. The *Vita per Michaelem* and *Methodius ad Theodorum* are assigned to the first half of the ninth century; all others to the post-iconoclast period; the *Vita compilata* of c. 900 is the first to merge the two saints. To the prose texts studied by Anrich should be added a kontakion on Nicholas attributed to Theodore of Stoudion, and a canon by Theophanes. Theodore of Stoudion: N. Tomadakes, 'Ρωμανοῦ μελωδοῦ. Κοντάκιον εἰς τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Νικόλαον', *Ἀθῆνα* 55 (1951), 185–6, and J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata* 1 (Paris, 1876), 355–8. Theophanes: *Μηναῖον τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου* (Athens, 1961), 64–86 (December 6).

[28] See my *Nicholas*, 20 and note 14. The earliest surviving painted portrait of the saint is still probably the icon on Sinai (B.33) published by Weitzmann as seventh/eighth-century and Palestinian in origin: Weitzmann, *Sinai icons*. Some local seals bearing images of Nicholas could be as early as the seventh century: e.g. V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin* 5,1 (Paris, 1965), nos. 929, 999; G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* 1,2 (Basel and Berne, 1972), no. 1258 (I wish to thank Professor John Nesbitt for kindly bringing this seal to my attention). The seal of Theophilos, metropolitan of Myra (eighth century) does not bear any image of the saint: J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg* 1 (Washington DC, 1991), no. 72.6. J. Cotsonis, 'A society and its images: the religious iconography of Byzantine lead seals', Ph.D. thesis (Pennsylvania State University, 1992) will, one hopes, soon be published. A deacon from Myra, so it was reported to the members of the Seventh Council in 787, saw a figure in a dream whom he later recognized as Nicholas when confronted with a portrait of the saint on an altar cloth: Mansi XIII, 33; cf. my *Nicholas*, 19 and note 13; G. Dagron, 'Holy Images and Likeness', *DOP* 45 (1991), 31; Maguire (as in note 37 below), 230–31. The so-called Fieschi-Morgan staurothek, which bears an image of St Nicholas, is now thought to be ninth century; its choice of saints has suggested to some a Palestinian origin: see A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), 100, 122–3. On a Coptic icon recently published by B. Davezac, who dates the icon to c. 600, a haloed figure inscribed 'Nicholas' approaches the seated Virgin and Child; the image, however, is likely to be that of a local ecclesiastical donor: B. Davezac, *Greek Icons after the Fall of Constantinople. Selections from the Roger Cabal Collection* (Houston, 1996), no. 1. The earliest surviving painted Constantinopolitan portrait of Nicholas is probably the miniature in the Leo Bible (Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol. 3r), although a metropolitan origin for two Sinai icons from the early tenth century cannot be entirely ruled out: Weitzmann, *Sinai icons*, no. B.61; cf. B. 52–3.

highest circles of court and patriarchate, a quantum leap that is somewhat difficult to explain. Basil founded his revolutionary Nea Church, a palace chapel, in 880 and dedicated it to the Virgin, to the archangel Gabriel and the prophet Elijah, his special patrons – and to St Nicholas.[29] Not long after the erection of the Nea, as part of a decorative programme initiated by Basil or perhaps by Leo VI (who wrote his own encomium to Nicholas), a mosaic portrait of Nicholas was set up in the south tympanum of Hagia Sophia, putting him in the company of such established bishops as Chrysostom and Basil, Gregory and Athanasios, along with the recently deceased patriarch Ignatios. In short, by the end of the ninth century, Nicholas had been fully accepted as an important bishop saint by both emperor and patriarch.[30]

Could Joseph have played any role in this? It is a possibility. It seems that Nicholas' appearance to Joseph on Crete did not go unacknowledged by the hymnographer. For Joseph authored a second liturgical collection, one different from the Menaia, in which St Nicholas figures prominently. This collection he called the 'Nea Oktoechos', the successor, so to speak, of the Oktoechos composed by John of Damascus; today it is known as the *Parakletike*.[31] The *Parakletike* provides a set of canons for each day of the week, with each of these days being dedicated to a different holy figure: Mondays are dedicated to the archangels, Tuesdays to John the Baptist, Wednesdays and Fridays to the cross and/or the Virgin, Saturdays to the martyrs. On Sundays, of course, are sung the hymns to Christ attributed to John of Damascus that constitute the Oktoechos. So on Mondays, a canon is sung to the archangels, on Tuesday, one to John the Baptist, and so forth. The same canon is not sung every week, but there are eight canons, one in each of the eight musical modes, and these are sung in a revolving eight-week cycle, just as are the hymns of the Oktoechos. The first week of the cycle, canons in the first mode are sung; on the second, the canons in the second mode, etc. Just as the canons for the Menaia filled out the services for the days of the year after those for Easter and Lent and the major feasts had been provided for, so the canons of the *Parakletike*, forty-eight of them quite comfortably attributed to Joseph, filled out the vacant days of the week between one Sunday and the next.[32]

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[29] *Vita Basilii*, 83: Theoph.Cont., 325. There exists a twelfth-century Latin legend, based on we know not what, that states that the Emperor Basil made an unsuccessful attempt to transfer the relics of St Nicholas from Myra to the capital; see my *Nicholas*, 21.

[30] See my *Nicholas*, 21–2.

[31] On the *Parakletike*, see the introduction to the French translation of the *Parakletike* by D. Guillaume, *Paraclitique ou grand Octoèque* 1 (Rome 1977), 5–18. The term 'Nea Oktaechos' is used by Joseph himself in the acrostic to his canon to all the saints, for Saturday of the fourth tone: Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ*, 78, and canon no. 453.

[32] Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ*, canons nos. 386–453.

Thursdays are dedicated to the apostles and to St Nicholas. Of all the non-Biblical saints in the church calendar, only Nicholas is honoured in this way. And bearing the acrostic of Joseph is a sequence of eight canons, one for each mode, composed by him to be sung on Thursdays of the fortnightly cycle.[33]

The problem, of course, is to determine how old this practice really is, whether the association of Nicholas with Thursdays can be attributed to Joseph, and served to spur the cult of the saint, or whether it is a later intrusion simply reflecting the ever-increasing importance of the saint? In the life of St Antony the Younger, written not too long after his death in 865, there is a mention of the 'Fourth canon in honour of St Nicholas', which must refer to one in this series of eight.[34] Certainly by the early fourteenth century, it was an accepted fact that Nicholas was to be celebrated in this way every Thursday: Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, in his poem on the miracles of St Nicholas, relates how Joseph dedicated Thursdays to St Nicholas in thanks for his miraculous rescue from Crete.[35] Is Nikephoros just using the same logic we would? Or is the inclusion of hymns to Nicholas in this weekly cycle really a development of the ninth century? All we can say is that there is nothing mentioned in the texts of these canons, no event in the life of Nicholas, that was not available in the mid-ninth century: equally, there are no allusions to events known only after the story of Nicholas of Sion was added to that of Nicholas of Myra. Furthermore, the praise awarded Nicholas in these canons perfectly reflects the qualities for which he was valued most in this period in the ninth-century *vitae* and encomia – his prompt appearance to rescue innocent men, and his supreme orthodoxy, including his rejection of the heretic Arius. His tomb at Myra with its flowing oil is mentioned – few could resist the pun on Myra and myron, the holy oil – and so is the fact that miracles take place there, but no specific miracle is cited.

Quite clearly, only a critical edition of the *Parakletike* will allow us to determine the age of this practice, and to decide whether Joseph was really

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[33] Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ*, canons nos 390, 399, 407, 415, 423, 431, 439, 449. The canons are organized by tones, at the Thursday orthros; in the service, their odes alternate with those of canons of the apostles: *Parakletike* (Athens, 1959); Guillaume, *Paraclitique*, 114–25, etc. The canon to Nicholas in the second tone is probably not by our Joseph, despite its acrostic, see G. Schirò, *Analecta hymnica graeca* 4 (Rome, 1976), 76–84, 790–91; unlike the others, its number in the series is not alluded to in the acrostic.

[34] *AnBoll* 62 (1944), 219 lines 9–11. The canon is not connected with Joseph, and does not correspond to Joseph's 'fourth canon to Nicholas' (Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ*, canon no. 415); the manuscript of this life belongs to the tenth century.

[35] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχηολογίας* 4 (St Petersburg, 1897; repr. Brussels, 1963), 357–66; Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 456–7.

responsible for this signal honour to St Nicholas.[36] But if the practice of dedicating one day a week to St Nicholas *does* date back as far as the ninth century, it must be considered a crucial element in any analysis of the cult of the saint in Constantinople and abroad.[37] This cluster of canons in honour of St Nicholas, repeated over and over again every week throughout the year except during Lent, Easter and Pentecost, must be taken into account in any attempt to explain the remarkable popularity of Nicholas vis-à-vis other saints with equal credentials, in the many centuries to come.

The hymnographic enterprise

Let us return now to the hymnographic enterprise as a whole. The project was of course essentially monastic in character, for the canon plays no part in the cathedral service as it was performed at Hagia Sophia in this period. There is nothing in the cathedral service to compare with the direct and passionate appeal to an individual saint found in the poetry of these monastic canons, whether we refer to the canons of the Menaion, composed to be sung once a year on the feast of the saint, or to those of the *Parakletike*, to be sung in rotation once every eight weeks.[38] The latter, the intercessory canons, the *parakletikoi kanones*, are especially penitential and personal, and the poet, speaking often in the first person and using the saint's past interventions almost metaphorically, appeals to the saint both to rescue him now from various sorts of troubles, the troubles of daily life, and to

[36] I am informed by Zaza Skhirtladze that in Georgian versions of the *Parakletike* – where, as in Byzantium, each day of the week has its own dedication – the dedication of Thursdays to St Nicholas does not appear in the very earliest manuscripts. Thursday is devoted to Nicholas in the manuscript Sinai.georg. 67: G. Garite, *Le calendrier Palestino-Géorgien du Sinaiticus 34* (Brussels, 1958), 432. A study of the earlier Greek manuscripts of the *Parakletike* is crucial: see C. Hannick, 'Les canons de la Parakletike dans les manuscrits sinaitiques', *Atti del I congresso internazionale di musica bizantina liturgica e orientale* (Grottaferrata, 1968), which I unfortunately have not been able to consult.

[37] Nearly every canon ends with a reminder of the imminence of the Last Judgement, and the poet's urgent need for an intercessor such as Nicholas. Here already in the ninth century, we find the particularly close association of Nicholas with the Last Judgement that has been used to explain why there are more fresco programmes depicting the *vita* of St Nicholas than of any other saint, and why these cycles are often painted in conjunction with burials. See my *Nicholas*, 161–2, 173 and H. Maguire, 'From the Evil Eye to the Eye of Justice: The Saints, Art and Justice in Byzantium', in A. Laiou and D. Simon, eds, *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth–Twelfth Centuries* (Washington DC, 1994), 217–39, esp. 227–31. On the importance of the Last Judgement in the ninth century, see also Robin Cormack's chapter later in this volume.

[38] In the cathedral service, as represented by the typikon of the Great Church, a saint was commemorated in a far more distant and indirect manner, through Old Testament and gospel readings, through psalms and at most a short verse in which he or she is named. Summary facts about a saint's life were eventually added, in the form of a Synaxarion reading. See my 'The Evergetis Synaxarion and the Celebration of a Saint in Twelfth-century Art and Liturgy', *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis* (Belfast, forthcoming).

intercede for him at the end of time. 'Strengthened by the power of God, full of zeal for knowledge of the faith, you saved the innocent from death, so we beseech you, save us from every unjust adversity', so runs one of Joseph's canons to Nicholas; 'As you freed the generals who were to be killed unjustly, so deliver us from the evil of malicious men and from that of the devil'; 'From death you delivered those who were led to it unjustly ... also we cry out: in this very way save us from the temptations that mortally endanger the mind' or 'I cry to you, reduce the pain of my soul, calm the waves of despair, appease the trouble besieging my mind. It is nigh, the coming of the Creator ...; alas, unready as I am, I tremble thinking of the multitude of my sins: O Lord, save me, the pitiful, by the holy prayers of Nicholas, your saint'.[39]

What the writing of these hundreds of canons to individual saints achieved was to provide the faithful for the first time with a form of access to every holy figure in the church calendar. In this respect it is comparable to the contemporary interest in providing visual access to these holy figures through the establishment of portrait types for hundreds of different saints.[40]

Whether or not Joseph wrote each and every canon himself – or whether Symeon Metaphrastes in the later tenth century himself composed the more than one hundred *vitae* attributed to him – is scarcely the issue: what is important for us to recognize is that this ambitious project of producing a canon for every saint in the book, for every day of the year, was being undertaken already in the ninth century.[41] This project may possibly, like that of the Synaxarion or that of Symeon Metaphrastes, have been officially sponsored – Joseph's appointment as skeuophylax by the Emperor Basil himself is underlined in all his *Vitae*[42] – and there is a passage in the

[39] Canon to St Nicholas for Thursday orthros in the third tone, first and eighth odes; canon in the fourth tone, fourth ode; canon in the third tone, ninth ode, all in the *Parakletike* (e.g. Athens, 1959). We are reminded of Joseph's first biographer Theophanes, who tells how Joseph absorbs our sins, in his hymns, as his own: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta* 9 lines 16–18. See also E. Catafygiotu-Topping, 'St Joseph the Hymnographer and St Mariamne Isapostolos', *Byzantina* 13/2 (1985), 1035–52.

[40] The process of providing each saint with a consistent portrait type took rather a longer time, and was not completed before the eleventh century: see, for example, the so-called 'calendar icons' on Mount Sinai, or the Lectionary in the Vatican, (gr. 1156), which has images of saints attached to many of the entries in its calendar section: K. Weitzmann, 'Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th centuries at Sinai', *Deltion*, ser. 4, 12 (1986), 63–116, esp. 107–12; N. P Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago, 1990), esp. 11–26, 182, 188–93.

[41] On other comparable projects in the ninth and tenth centuries, see the important article by C. Rapp, 'Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians, Seventh to Tenth centuries', *ByzF* 21, Bosphorus: Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango (1995), 31–44, esp. 32–4.

[42] This is noted in the title to the *Vita* by Theophanes (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta*, 1 lines 3–7). However, the appointment to this particular office was one traditionally made by the emperor himself.

Synaxarion notice to the effect that Joseph's hymns, which he wrote on demand, were sung by all, and that he was desired and beloved by everyone, not only by ordinary people and leaders but by the emperors themselves.[43] In the canons of the Menaia and the *Parakletike*, we can discern an ambitious and organized attempt at shaping and sacralizing each day and week of the liturgical year, at ordering and codifying the daily round with respect to the heavenly one, and at establishing, through the poetry of the canon, the firmest possible links between the two.

[43] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta*, 16 lines 27–30; cf. Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 583 lines 35–6. Joseph's patron, the patriarch Ignatios, was a hymnographer himself, some of whose hymns were addressed to saints: C. Emereau, 'Hymnographi byzantini', *EO* 22 (1923), 433–4; Ignatios was praised for his hymnography by Joseph in his kontakion to Ignatios (see note 20 above).

10. Reconstructing ninth-century Constantinople*

Robert Ousterhout

In 879, following what was called a 'victorious return from campaign', the Emperor Basil I staged a triumphal entry into the city of Constantinople.[1] After spending the night at Hebdomon, he moved in solemn procession toward the city, stopping for a costume change at the monastery of the Avraamites before passing through the Golden Gate. Stational ceremonies, punctuated with acclamations by the city's factions, were staged at the Sigma, the Exakionion, the Forum of Arcadius, the Forum Bovis, the Capitol, the Forum of Theodosius, the Artopolia, and the Forum of Constantine, where the Church of the Virgin was used for another costume change. Basil then proceeded on foot to the Milion, and then into Hagia Sophia for a liturgical service, before, finally, finishing with a banquet in the Triklinos of Justinian at the Great Palace.[2] The city had been cleaned up, dressed up, and decorated for the occasion, and the spectacle was apparently spectacular enough to have been recorded in some detail.[3]

It would be much easier to envision Basil's triumph if we knew what Constantinople looked like in the late ninth century. Following several centuries of depopulation and decay, and despite Constantine V's attempts to repopulate the city and tend to the urban fabric, the city seems to have been

* Many of my observations derive from a larger study in progress, entitled *Byzantine Masons at Work*. I am grateful to Charles Barber for a critical reading of the text.

[1] J.F. Haldon, Constantine *Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions, CFHB* 28 (Vienna, 1990), 140–47; see M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Ceremonies of Triumph in Byzantium and the Latin West* (Cambridge, 1986), 154–7, on image-making and Basil's uneven success in the ongoing war.

[2] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 154–7, 212–30, for analysis.

[3] For the preparations for an imperial triumph, see McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 198–230.

in the midst of a renewal during the reign of Basil.[4] Still, the stations utilized in his triumph were traditional, established already in early Christian times, and of them only the Church of the Virgin at the Forum post-dates the sixth century.[5] It had been built by Basil himself, and its inclusion in the ceremony would have helped to associate the murderer and usurper Basil with his illustrious predecessors.[6]

With the notable exceptions of Hagia Sophia and the Golden Gate, virtually nothing remains of these great ceremonial spaces. The area of the Forum of Theodosius is today strewn with broken bits, and only the large but pathetic Burnt Column survives from the Forum of Constantine; scholars still disagree about the size and shape of both fora.[7] What did ninth-century Constantinople actually look like? Presumably some of the grandeur of the late Roman city still survived, with its marble piles and brazen colossi. But it may be worth mentioning that Basil had added the church of the Virgin at the Forum, as we learn from the *Vita Basilii*, so that workers would have both a place of spiritual refuge and 'a place to go to get out of the rain'.[8] Mango singled out this statement to indicate that the church had replaced all other centres of social interaction. At the same time, it suggests that the colonnades and porticoes – which were part and parcel of the antique city – had either disappeared or had been filled by shops and stalls.[9]

The starting point for any discussion of architecture in the second half of the ninth century is the *Vita Basilii*, which enumerates thirty-one churches in and around Constantinople restored by Basil, in addition to his new constructions in the Great Palace. But the text gives emphasis to the restoration of isolated religious foundations, rather than to new constructions, or to civic buildings, or to the larger concerns of urban planning.

> ... the Christ-loving emperor Basil, by means of continuous care and the abundant supply of all necessary things, raised from ruin many holy churches that had been rent asunder by prior earthquakes or had fallen down, or were

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[4] As discussed by C. Mango, *Byzantium: Empire of New Rome* (New York, 1980), 81–2; see also W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780–842* (Stanford, 1988).

[5] For the monastery of the Avraamites, see Janin, *Églises*, 4–6; for the church of the Virgin at the Forum of Constantine, ibid., 236–7.

[6] Although C. Mango, 'The Life of St Andrew the Fool Reconsidered', *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 2 (1982), 302–3, suggests that the church may have been renovated rather than newly constructed.

[7] W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 255–65, for the remains of these spaces.

[8] C. Mango, 'The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre', *The Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers* (New York, 1986), 117–36, esp. 130–31; *Vita Basilii*, in Theoph. Cont., 339.

[9] See H. Saradi-Mendolovici, 'The Demise of the Ancient City and the Emergence of the Medieval City in the Eastern Roman Empire', *Echos du Monde Classique* 32 (1988), 365–401.

threatening immediate collapse on account of the fractures [they had sustained], and to the solidity he added [a new] beauty.[10]

For the architectural historian, the details of the *Vita Basilii* raise the uncomfortable fact that none of these buildings, nor any of the other great monuments of ninth-century Constantinople, survives. Can we actually talk about an architectural revival in ninth-century Constantinople? In the earlier part of this century, it all seemed much clearer. Van Millingen, for example, viewed the reign of Basil as one of the formative periods of Byzantine architecture, and he consequently dated several churches to the ninth century, including those now called the Fethiye Camii (Theotokos Pammakaristos), the Gül Camii (sometimes identified as St Theodosia), the Kalenderhane Camii (Theotokos Kyriotissa), and the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (sometimes identified as SS Peter and Mark).[11] These churches all fall into the categories of domed basilicas or cross-domed churches – that is, with the dome braced by four barrel vaults – and they thus fit within the evolutionary framework for Byzantine architecture adopted by Van Millingen and subsequently by Ebersolt, and more recently by Krautheimer.[12] However, all but one of these monuments have now been securely relocated in the twelfth century on archaeological grounds.[13] More recent scholarship has questioned the typological basis for the beginnings of Middle Byzantine architecture.[14]

The absence of securely-dated ninth-century monuments in Constantinople is further emphasized by the survival of two early tenth-century monuments, the Theotokos tou Libos and the Myrelaion, both small cross-in-square or four-column churches, where the sophistication in design, construction, and detailing certainly did not come from nothing.[15] But what exactly happened during the preceding century? If we attempt to fill

[10] Theoph. Cont., 321–5; English tr. from C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), 192–9.

[11] A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912), esp. 333.

[12] J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913).

[13] For a discussion of this problem, see my 'The Byzantine Church at Enez: Problems in Twelfth-Century Architecture', *JÖB* 35 (1985), 261–80, esp. 265–70. For a mid twelfth-century date for the Gül Camii, see H. Schäfer, *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul. Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopels*, IstMitt 7 (Tübingen, 1973), esp. 77–81. For the late twelfth-century date of the Kalenderhane Camii, see C.L. Striker and D. Kuban, 'Work on the Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Fourth Preliminary Report', *DOP* 25 (1971), 258. For the Pammakaristos, see C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963', *DOP* 18 (1964), 319–40, esp. 338 and 340.

[14] See T. Mathews and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'Notes on the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Istanbul and its Frescoes', *DOP* 39 (1985), 125–34, esp. 125.

[15] C. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton, 1982); T. Macridy *et al.*, 'The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul', *DOP* 18 (1964), 251–315. Neither study addresses the ancestry of these buildings types.

the *lacunae* in our architectural history with texts, how do we bridge the gap between descriptions of buildings that do not survive and the pitiful remains of unidentified buildings that do? In the following pages, I would like to look at several familiar texts that have been used and misused by architectural historians. I will suggest some ways they can be best employed to evoke if not the image at least the spirit of ninth-century Constantinople. I shall then turn to the archaeological record for monuments outside Constantinople that may relate to developments in the Byzantine capital, and I shall conclude by raising more questions than I can answer. In deference to Alessandra Ricci, whose essay follows, I limit my discussion to churches.

The most common type of text used by architectural historians is the *ekphrasis*, a form of evocative writing found throughout Byzantine literature.[16] *Ekphraseis* have often been examined by modern scholars for the information they provide about lost works of art or architecture, although in this respect they are of limited value. An *ekphrasis* had a literary function that took precedence over the exactness of the recording. This is not to say that a Byzantine description of a work of architecture does not reflect the truth, and most are remarkably accurate, as Wulff once demonstrated by comparing *ekphraseis* with surviving buildings.[17] But *ekphraseis* emphasize perceptual understanding and may be best understood as expressions of spiritual realities, rather than as archaeological records.[18]

In a well-known example of an *ekphrasis*, Basil's famous church, the Nea Ekklesia, built around 880, is described in the *Vita Basilii*.[19] Here we learn that the church was dedicated to Christ, along with Gabriel, Elijah, the Theotokos, and St Nicholas:

> This church, like a bride adorned with pearls and gold, with gleaming silver, with the variety of many-hued marble, with compositions of mosaic tesserae, and clothing of silken stuffs, he [Basil] offered to Christ, the immortal bridegroom. Its roof, consisting of five domes, gleams with gold and is resplendent with beautiful images as with stars, while on the outside it is adorned with brass that resembles gold. The walls on either side are beautified with costly marbles of many hues, while the sanctuary is enriched with gold and silver, precious stones, and pearls ...

The *Vita Basilii* provides no information about the plan of the building, nor about its construction materials. It tells us that the church had five domes

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[16] See, among others, H. Maguire, 'Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art', *DOP* 28 (1974), 113–40; A. Hohlweg, 'Ekphrasis', *RBK* 2 (Stuttgart, 1971), 33 ff.; L. James and R. Webb, '"To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places": Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium', *Art History* 14/1 (1991), 1–17.

[17] O. Wulff, 'Das Raumerlebnis im Spiegel der Ekphrasis', *BZ* 30 (1929–30), 531–9.

[18] A point stressed by James and Webb, 'Ekphrasis and Art'.

[19] Theoph.Cont., 321–5; English tr. in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 192–9.

but not how they were arranged, and scholars are fairly evenly divided on the possible reconstructions. In 1925, Wultzinger published a hypothetical plan, based on dubious archaeological evidence incorrectly recorded, attempting to place the church above a small cistern below Topkapı Palace (Figure 10.1).[20] In 1942 Conant similarly provided a detailed reconstruction of an elaborate cross-domed church with corner chapels as a part of an ambulatory (Figure 10.2).[21] Both attempts bear more than a passing resemblance to proposed reconstructions of the eleventh-century church of St George in the Mangana – and I suspect here that one hypothetical reconstruction may have influenced the other – and to the twelfth-century church known as the Gül Camii, which was believed to be from the ninth century.[22]

More recently, both Krautheimer and Mango have described the Nea as a cross-in-square or *quincunx* church, with four minor domes at the corners; they see it as a forerunner to a standard Middle Byzantine type.[23] Mango claims that the Nea was 'in all probability of the cross-in-square type'; he does not clarify the arrangement of domes, although he compares the Nea to the Theotokos tou Libos, built c.907, a cross-in-square church with four domed, gallery-level chapels that did not communicate with the interior (Figure 10.5).

In contrast, Ćurčić has proposed that the naos was more likely cruciform, with four minor domes over corner chapels, in the manner of St Panteleimon at Nerezi (Figure 10.3).[24] He suggests, wisely, that the five-fold dedication may indicate a church with four annexed chapels. In the sixth century, domes were used as modular space covers, as at Justinian's church of the Holy Apostles. But in the Middle Byzantine period, a dome normally signified a separate functional space, as it does at the Theotokos tou Libos. It is only in provincial buildings, as at the Cattolica at Stilo in Calabria, that the corner domes relate directly to the naos in a cross-in-square plan. Krautheimer, under the influence of Ćurčić, modified his description of the Nea in the 1986 edition of his handbook to read, ambiguously, 'quincunx or possibly a cross-domed plan'.

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[20] K. Wultzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäle zu Konstantinopel* (Hanover, 1925), 52–63; but see H. Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi* (Istanbul, 1989), 220–22, for correction.

[21] K.J. Conant, *A Brief Commentary on Early Mediaeval Church Architecture, with Especial Reference to Lost Monuments* (Baltimore, 1942), 15 and pl. 22; reproduced in N. Schmuck, 'Kreuzkuppelkirche', *RBK* 5 (Stuttgart, 1991), fig. 3.

[22] For the clarification of the date, see Schäfer, *Gül Camii*, 177–81.

[23] R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn rev. by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986), 355–6; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), 196–7 and 203.

[24] S. Ćurčić, 'Architectural Reconsideration of the Nea Ecclesia', *Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers* 6 (1980), 11–12.

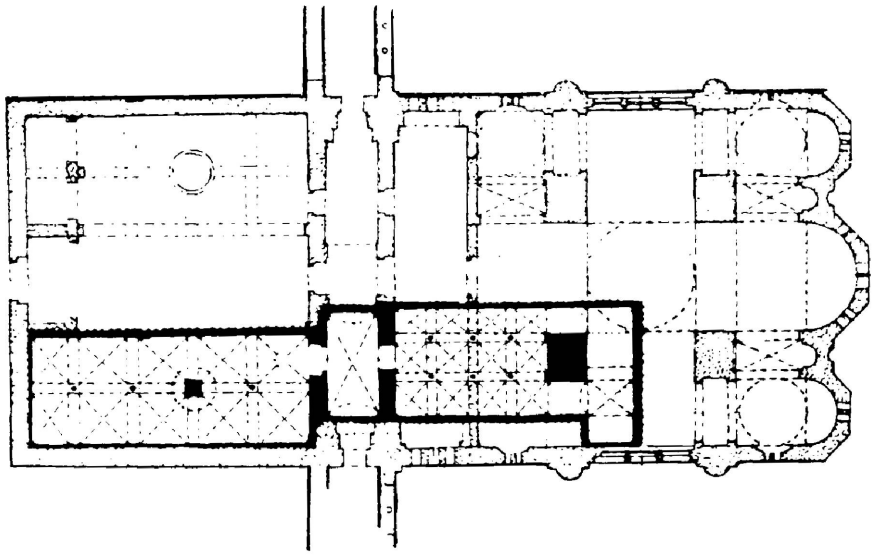

Figure 10.1 *Constantinople, Nea Church, hypothetical plan (as reconstructed by Wultzinger).*

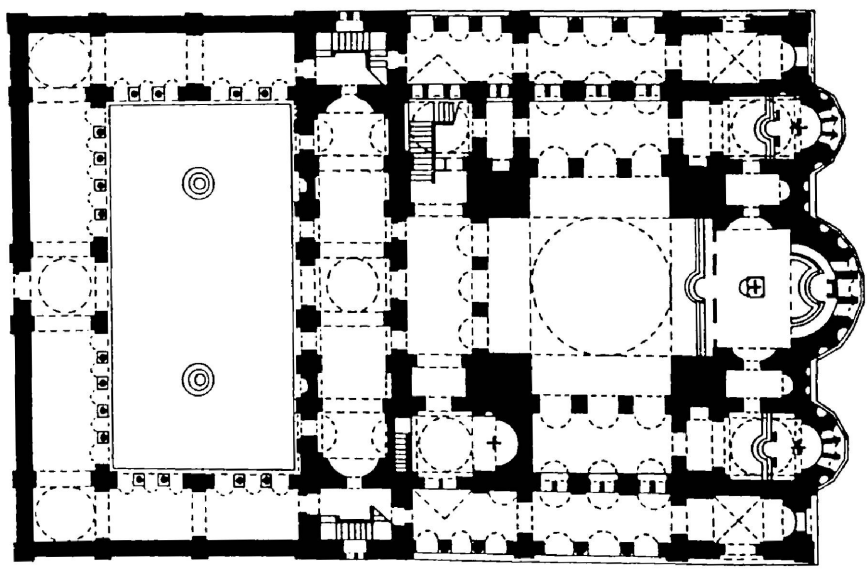

Figure 10.2 *Constantinople, Nea Church, hypothetical plan (as reconstructed by Conant).*

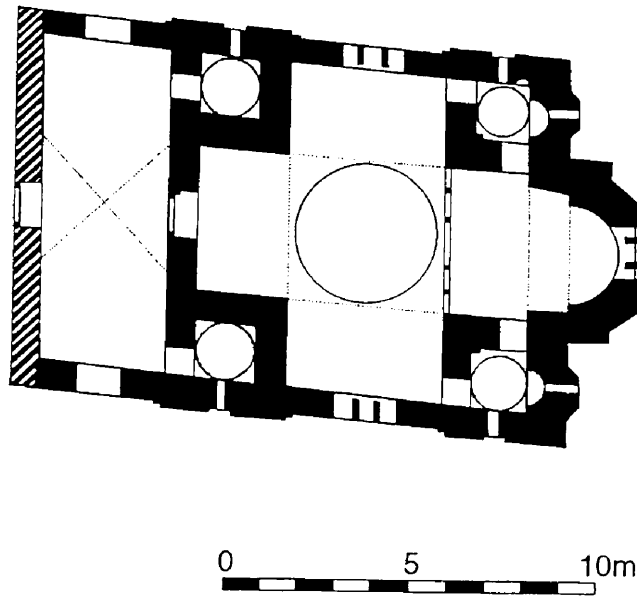

Figure 10.3 *Nerezi, St Panteleimon, plan (Ćurčić).*

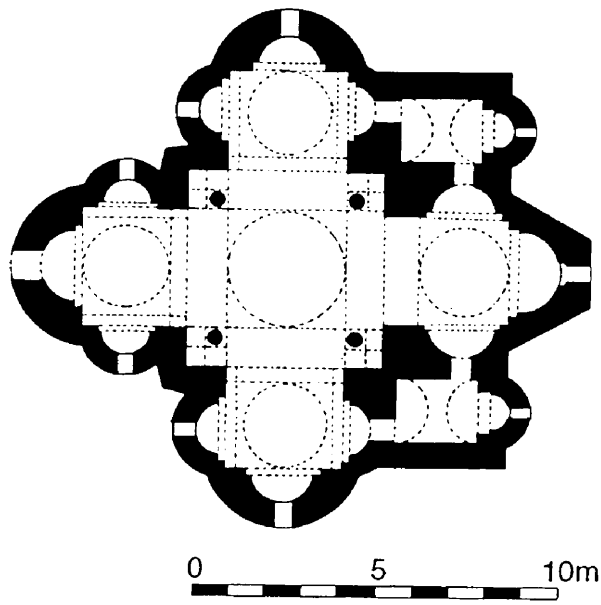

Figure 10.4 *Persisterai, St Andrew, plan (Krautheimer).*

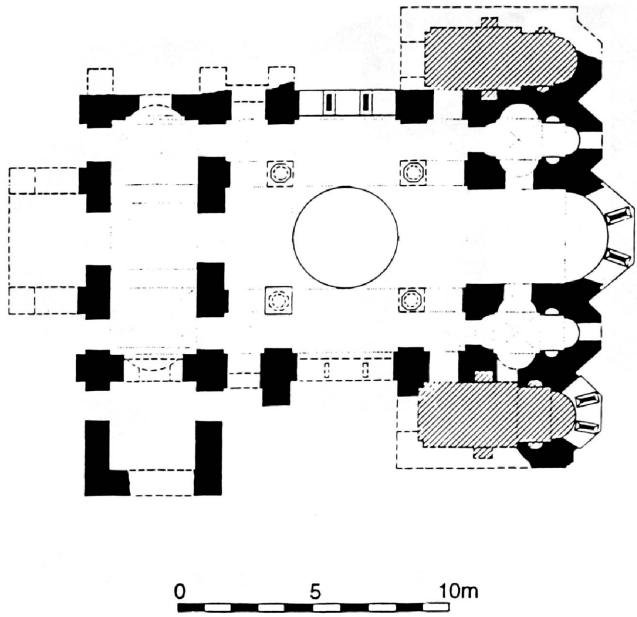

Figure 10.5 *Constantinople, Theotokos tou Libos, plan (Ćurčić).*

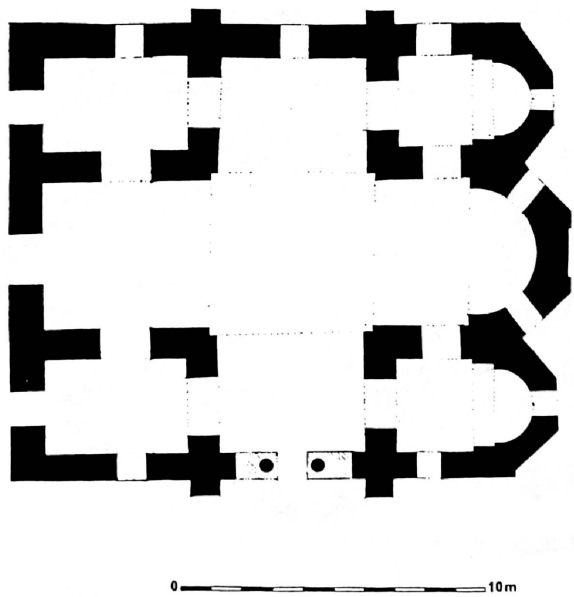

Figure 10.6 *Constantinople, Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, plan (Ebersolt and Thiers).*

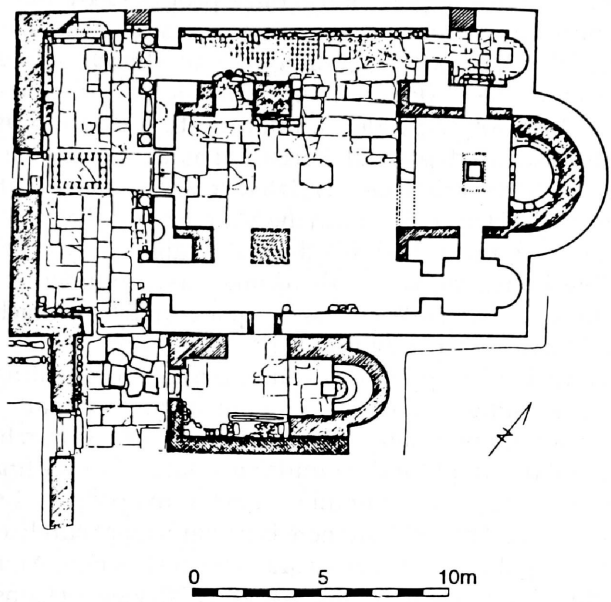

Figure 10.7 *Selçikler, church, plan (Fıratlı).*

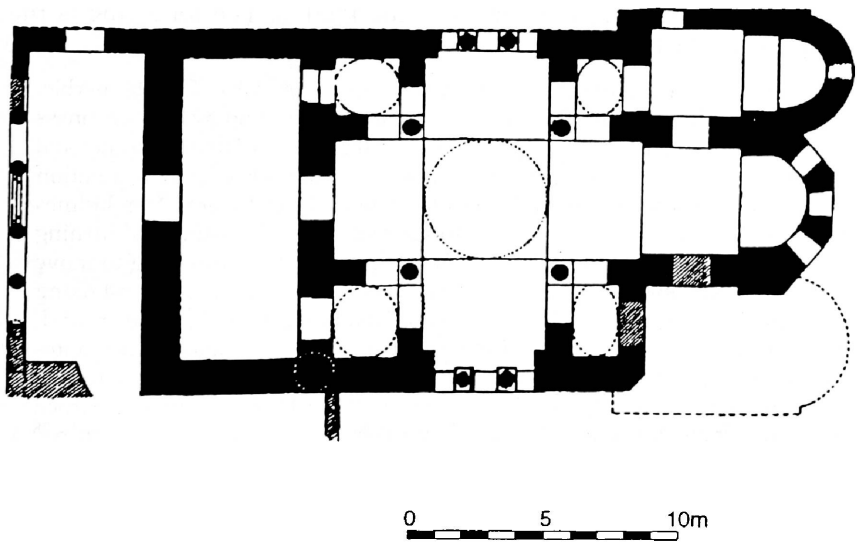

Figure 10.8 *Trilye, Fatih Camii, plan (Hasluck).*

Yet another intriguing possibility, once proposed by Buchwald and generally ignored, is that the five domes covered the naos in a cruciform arrangement, like the nearly contemporaneous church of St Andrew at Peristerai, built in 870–71 (Figure 10.4).[25] That is, the ultimate model was the church of the Holy Apostles, a building that Basil renovated. The curiously sophisticated plan of Peristerai is at odds with its rough construction; with the earliest clearly dated cross-in-square unit at its core, its design certainly did not originate in the Macedonian village. As Buchwald insists, a 'ceiling composed of five domes' would apply much better to something like Peristerai, where the domes are prominent on both the exterior and the interior, than to a cross-in-square church, in which the corner domes would have been barely visible on the interior.

More recently, Paul Magdalino, in an otherwise illuminating article on the Nea, remarks rather vaguely that it bore 'an approximate likeness' to the Theotokos tou Libos and to St Sophia in Kiev – two churches I find to be not very similar, except for their multiple domes.[26] In the final analysis, I suppose we can say that any or all or none of the proposed reconstructions may be correct. The fact that there is no agreement surely emphasizes the futility of using the *ekphrasis* as an aid to reconstruction. And even *if* the funny little church represented in Panvinio's 1540 view of Constantinople *is* the Nea,[27] it offers no clarification. Just as the domes of the Nea announced the city to approaching ships, the *ekphrasis* announces to us its signifying features, but it can bring us no closer.

In another well-known example of an *ekphrasis*, the Patriarch Photios described the church of the Virgin of the Pharos. The following is the description of the forecourt:

> The atrium of the church is splendidly fashioned: for slabs of white marble, gleaming bright and cheerful, occupy the whole facade, and by their evenness and smoothness and close fitting they conceal the setting of one to another and the juncture of their edges, so that they suggest to the beholder's imagination the continuousness of a single [piece of] stone with, as it were, straight lines ruled on it – a new miracle and a joy to see. Wherefore, arresting and turning towards themselves the spectator's gaze, they make him unwilling to move further in; but taking his fill of the fair spectacle in the very atrium, and fixing his eyes on the sight before him, the visitor stands as if rooted [to the ground] with wonder. Legends proclaim the lyre of Thracian Orpheus, whose notes stirred inanimate things. If it were our privilege also to erect truth into legend and make it awe-inspiring, one might say that visitors to the atrium were turned with wonder into the form of trees: so firmly is one held having but see it once.[28]

[25] H. Buchwald, 'Sardis Church E – A Preliminary Report', *JÖB* 26 (1977), 277–8.

[26] P. Magdalino, 'Observations on the Nea Ecclesia', *JÖB* 37 (1987), 51–64.

[27] Reproduced in Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 46.

[28] C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius* (Cambridge MA, 1958), 185 ff.; repr. in idem, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 185–6. See also R.H. Jenkins and C. Mango, 'The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius', *DOP* 9/10 (1956), 123 ff.

It is noteworthy that Photios has concentrated on a single detail to give the impression of the whole. He simply and briefly described the revetment of the facade, concentrating on the reaction of the viewer, but no other information about the atrium is provided. Was it rectangular and colonnaded? Did it contain trees? We are simply not told.

As in this example, it is instructive to note what writers single out to mention when they discuss a building, because this tells us what they thought was important. The ground plan is not described, although occasionally forms of vaults are. Materials are normally noted in detail, particularly if they are costly or rare. Marble revetments and expensive or exotic varieties of stone are perhaps the most frequently mentioned elements in all descriptions. But the point is that the writers were interested in providing a degree of specificity in the description of detail to emphasize the uniqueness of the building.

Perhaps the emphasis in such descriptions of buildings is indicative of a general medieval attitude toward architecture. That is to say, the parts could be taken to represent the whole – the details could assume an importance comparable to that of the entire building. Indeed, this is exactly what Krautheimer concluded in his study of the iconography of medieval architecture.[29] In copies of important buildings, some but not all elements of the prototype were singled out for repetition, but the scale and the plan were almost invariably altered in the transfer. It would seem that the details were the features that made each building distinctive; and they were repeated as representative of the whole. Thus, in a description of the monastery of Kauleas at Constantinople, Leo VI paid special attention to the marbles and mosaics, concluding, 'These have a beauty that corresponds exactly to that of the rest of the church'.[30] Although a general conservatism prevailed in terms of design and construction in Byzantine architecture, it was the finish materials, the decoration, and the furnishings that gave a building its particular character.

Among the numerous restorations recorded in the *Vita Basilii*, most buildings are claimed, vaguely, to have been 'rebuilt from their foundations', 'made more solid', or 'made anew', although a few examples are more specific.[31] I find one reference here particularly interesting, as it may put us on a somewhat firmer archaeological footing:

> He [Basil] also repaired and beautified the handsome church at the Portico of Domninos – the one that is dedicated to the Resurrection of Christ our God

[29] R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), 1–33; repr. in idem, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), 115–50.

[30] Sermon 28: ed. Akakios, *Λέοντος τοῦ Σόφου πανηγυρικοὶ λόγοι* (Athens, 1868), 245 ff.; for English tr., Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 202–3.

[31] Theoph.Cont., 321–5; English tr. in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 192–9.

> and to the martyr Anastasia – by substituting a stone for a wooden roof and adding other admirable adornments.[32]

The writer surely meant that vaulting was introduced into the restored building,[33] and this would accord with a number of archaeologically documented architectural transformations of around the ninth century. For example, the excavations at Selçikler in Phrygia conducted by Nezih Firatlı revealed a small early Christian basilica that had been transformed into a cross-domed church, probably in the tenth century, with the addition of thick internal walls and vaulting (Figure 10.7).[34] A similar process has been observed at the large basilica at Amorion, which had vaulting introduced in the ninth or tenth century, as well as at the basilica at Kydna in Lycia.[35] On-site observations at the cruciform church at Büyükada near Amasra, for which Eyice proposed an eighth-century date, suggest a similar transformation, and a thorough reexamination of the site would be instructive.[36] In all, a cross-domed church seems to have been created within the framework of an older basilica.

The cross-domed plan introduced into all of these buildings accords with what may be the only ninth-century church still standing in Istanbul, although much altered. The Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii has never been convincingly identified, but its ninth-century date is generally agreed upon (Figure 10.6).[37] Recently, Dr Lioba Theis was able to examine the building during an otherwise undocumented restoration conducted by the Vakıflar, and she suggests that the building included lateral porches and upper level chapels over the corners.[38]

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[32] Theoph.Cont., 324.

[33] It is taken this way by J.J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Apogee* (New York, 1992), 96, who states, 'Many other, humbler shrines were similarly restored and in several cases re-roofed, the older wooden roofs – always a dangerous fire risk – being replaced by new ones of stone, frequently domed'.

[34] N. Firatlı, 'Découverte d'une église byzantine à Sébaste de Phrygie', *CA* 19 (1969), 151–6.

[35] C. Lightfoot, *Amorium: A Brief Guide to a Late Roman and Byzantine City in Central Anatolia* (Istanbul, 1994), 22-5; J.-P. Adam, 'La basilique byzantine de Kydna de Lycie', *Revue archéologique* 1 (1977), 53–78.

[36] S. Eyice, 'Amasra Büyükadasında bir Bizans kilisesi', *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* 15 (1951), 469-96; I thank Y. Ötüken for observations on the site.

[37] Mathews and Hawkins, 'Notes', 133–4. Mathews has discounted the commonly-held dedication to SS Peter and Mark, but his identification of it as Basil's church of the Prophet Elijah in Petrion is unfounded, as he himself admits. The identification of the church as H. Thekla, given by S. Eyice, *Istanbul. Petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs* (Istanbul, 1955), 66, may also be discounted, as Mathews notes (*supra*, 133).

[38] L. Theis, 'Überlegungen zu Annexbauten in der byzantinischen Architektur', in B. Borkopp, B. Schellenwald, and L. Theis, eds, *Studien zur Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Festschrift für H. Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag* (Amsterdam, 1995), 59–64, esp. 63 for the 'Schildwand-Motif' that suggests a lateral porch; Dr Theis promises a new study of the building. See also Mathews and Hawkins, 'Notes', esp. 129–30, and the reconstruction of the south facade, fig. 10, where the two levels of windows would support Theis' interpretation.

Krautheimer once noted that it did not appear possible to establish clear relationships between one building type and another in Byzantine architecture.[39] This is true if we view buildings as static elements, fixed in time, and if we view architectural design as a theoretical exercise. However, there are any number of buildings in which we can detect such critical transformations, and this is borne out by texts as well.[40] The history of Byzantine architecture, particularly in Constantinople, is one of constant rebuilding, remodelling, enlargement, and replacement, reflecting the transformations of society and the special functions each building housed.

Probably a similar process of experimentation, at about the same time, led to the development of the cross-in-square church, judging from the rather clumsy forms evident in the church of St John of Pelekete, the Fatih Camii in Trilye (Figure 10.8), and Church H at Side – the last of which might benefit from a more detailed analysis.[41] But the controlling factor in our interpretation of the evidence should be scale, and not typology: the centrally-planned, domed churches that appear in this period were most often private foundations for small congregations, and they thus must be understood in a context very different from the great basilicas that preceded them. Once introduced into the architectural mainstream – perhaps through a process of redesign during reconstruction – the vaulted, centrally-planned church proved to be an eminently suitable setting for the more private worship of the Middle Byzantine period.

I would like briefly to add some information from recent dendrochronological investigations in Constantinople and vicinity and their possible implications for the period under consideration. In the spring of 1995, Professor Peter Kuniholm and his staff at Cornell University were finally able to connect a long series of tree-ring data, extending their chronology for the Byzantine period back to the year 362.[42] We can now say, for example, that the remodelling of Hagia Eirene following the earthquake of 740 did not occur until at least 753 or very shortly thereafter. The related church of Ayasofya at Vize in Thrace may be dated sometime

[39] R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 1st edn (Harmondsworth, 1965), 201–13.

[40] See my 'Beyond Hagia Sophia: Originality in Byzantine Architecture', in A. Littlewood, ed., *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music* (Oxford, 1995), 167–85; and 'Originality in Byzantine Architecture: The Case of Nea Moni', *JSAH* 51 (1992), 48–60.

[41] C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, 'Some Churches and Monasteries on the South Shore of the Sea of Marmara', *DOP* 27 (1973), 236–8, 242–8; and more recently, M. S. Pekak, 'Zeytinbağı Trilye Bizans Döneme Kiliseleri', *XIII. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1 (Ankara, 1996), 307–38; S. Eyice, 'L'église cruciforme de Side in Pamphylie', *Anatolia* 3 (1958), 35–42.

[42] P.I. Kuniholm, 'New Tree-Ring Dates for Byzantine Buildings', *Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers* 21 (1995), 35; idem, 'Aegean Dendrochronology Project December 1995 Progress Report', 3-4; idem, 'First Millennium AD Oak Chronologies', report of 14 March 1995. I thank Professor Kuniholm for sharing these Wiener Laboratory reports with me.

after 833, bearing out Mango's interpretation.[43] The Fatih Camii at Trilye, often suggested to be the oldest surviving example of a cross-in-square church, can now be dated to the early ninth century, with the latest tree-ring date at 799. Also dating into the ninth century are several modifications to Hagia Sophia. A beam in the Baptistery suggests an otherwise unsuspected remodelling or reconstruction after 814. The room over the southwest vestibule dates sometime after 854, and this accords with Cormack and Hawkins' dating of the mosaics.[44] In addition, an intermediate room in the northeast buttress dates after 892. All of this is useful information in a period for which we have few securely dated monuments.

On the buildings that fall into this discussion, several observations are in order. First, the older churches of Constantinople received continued attention. Innovation encompassed both the new and the renewed. Second, several different building types existed side by side, and at dramatically different scales – something we tend to forget when looking at slides or photographs. The eighth-century remodelling of Hagia Eirene, with transverse barrel vaults above the galleries, found acceptance in larger foundations of the ninth century, as in the church at Vize in Thrace, as well as at Dereağzı in Lycia. Although closer to the capital, the church at Vize is rather heavy and unsophisticated in its forms, but this may be in part the result of later remodellings.[45] The Dereağzı church, set in the wilds of Lycia, compares quite nicely with Constantinopolitan examples in its construction and details, and Morganstern has dated it to the late ninth or early tenth century.[46] According to chemical analysis, the bricks used at Dereağzı seem to have come from the region of the Sea of Marmara, and I expect the master mason did too.[47] Both buildings may provide some sense of the contemporaneous architectural developments in the capital.

The cross-domed element crucial to the design of these domed basilicas appears on a smaller scale at the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii. On a still smaller scale, the cross-in-square plan, seen at the Myrelaion, provided an ideal setting for worship by a small congregation – whether family, parish, imperial court, or monastic. This is not to say that one building type developed out of another, but that different scales required different

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[43] C. Mango, 'The Byzantine Church at Vize (Bizye) in Thrace and St Mary the Younger', *ZRVI* 11 (1968), 9–13.

[44] R. Cormack and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'The Mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul: The Rooms Above the Southwest Vestibule and Ramp', *DOP* 31 (1977), 177–251, esp. 235–47.

[45] Mango, 'Byzantine Church at Vize'; S. Eyice, 'Trakya'da Bizans Devrine Ait Eserler', *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* 33 (1969), 327–33.

[46] J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church at Dereağzı and Its Decoration*, IstMitt 29 (Tübingen, 1983), 81–93.

[47] Ibid., 92–3 and notes 293–4.

features: galleries are superfluous in small buildings, just as a large dome could not be stabilized above four columns.

In buildings of all scales, we see the development of subsidiary chapels, frequently positioned on the gallery level.[48] Both Vize and Dereağzı had chapels on the upper levels above the pastophoria, and one wonders how the east gallery rooms added in the eighth-century remodelling of Hagia Eirene might have functioned.[49] The Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii had corner chapels on the ground floor and apparently on the gallery level as well, as did the Theotokos tou Libos. All would seem to address the more intimate nature of Byzantine worship in the age after Iconoclasm.

In conclusion, I must apologize for not satisfying the expectations that my chapter title may have raised. Instead of discussing larger issues of urban transformation, I have focussed on isolated examples of churches. What I have presented might be best taken as a sort of *ekphrasis* on ninth-century Constantinople: that is, I have attempted to evoke the spirit of the whole through the analysis of specific details. This might also accord with what the *Vita Basilii* suggests for Basil's renovation of the capital: his cultural revival was made manifest by the restoration of a few select buildings, augmented by the construction of a few lavish, new ones. Both Mango and Magdalino have suggested a sort of programme for the additions within the Great Palace, echoing the earlier buildings of Constantine and Justinian,[50] and one wonders if a similar programmatic reading should be applied to Basil's other building activities as well – or at least to their inclusion in the *Vita Basilii*.[51]

What exactly does a close reading of the *Vita Basilii* tell us about ninth-century Constantinople? Does the fact that so much of Basil's work was restoration suggest large-scale urban decay or simply the natural passage of time – and the necessary reaction to the earthquake of 869? Does the fact that the workers in the Forum have no place to go to get out of the rain signal urban decline or economic prosperity? Is there no mention of urban planning in this period because it was simply not necessary? Or are we witnessing with Basil's lavish triumphs and assorted reconstructions the replacement of actual order by a symbolic order? Have we gullible scholars of the twentieth century been taken in by Basil's carefully constructed propaganda and the rhetorical embellishments of his grandson?

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[48] For an analysis of the phenomenon, see S. Ćurčić, 'Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches', *JSAH* 36 (1977), 94–110.

[49] U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul*, IstMitt 18 (Tübingen, 1977), 49–50.

[50] Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 196–7; Magdalino, 'Observations', 63.

[51] See also L. Brubaker, 'To Legitimize an Emperor: Constantine and Visual Authority in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), 139–58.

Looking back on the ninth century, we are a bit like a ship at sea. The gleaming domes of the Nea may announce to us the arrival of the Macedonian 'revival', but from the point of view of ninth-century architecture, I am hard pressed to say if this was an actual renaissance or a symbolic one. In the final analysis, we simply cannot write an architectural history without buildings. And for now, it seems, an *ekphrasis* may be as close to ninth-century Constantinople as we can come.

11. The road from Baghdad to Byzantium and the case of the Bryas palace in Istanbul

Alessandra Ricci

Anyone approaching the study of ninth-century palatine architecture in Constantinople is confronted with two fundamental obstacles. On one side, the chronic paucity of palatine remains reaches its lowest point in this era. On the other, and perhaps related, there is an unfortunate absence of proper archaeological investigations for the period.[1] It will suffice to note that of the two securely identified remains of Constantinopolitan complexes of the period, only the substructures of the Mangana palace have been the object of 'archaeological investigations'.[2] These were emptied out in the 1920s by French Occupation troops, who cleared out the building's substructures and brought to light a level of rectangular shape that appeared to function as a cistern and substructure for the palace proper. Some traces of walls were also noted above the substructures. However, due to the complex political events of the period, the final report of the works in the Mangana quarter was published only several years later, regrettably omitting some of the most detailed information about the finds, including any discussion of the walls above the palace's substructures. A mere six pages in its total length, the evidence did not merit inclusion (as it turned out) in Müller-Wiener's seminal work on the topography of Byzantine and Ottoman Istanbul.[3] Without entering into the analysis and discussion of the substructures of

[1] This is true for most Byzantine monuments in the city and suburbs of Istanbul. In recent years, several have been the object of 'clearing' or 'restoration' works. Unfortunately most of these interventions, and the discoveries resulting from them, have yet to be made known to the scholarly community.

[2] The Palace of the Mangana, located in a panoramic position overlooking the mouth of the Bosphorus and several floors in height, was believed by its excavators to have been build by Basil I. R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes et la Première Region de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), 39–47.

[3] W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 223–47 on Byzantine palaces within the city walls.

From *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, ed. Leslie Brubaker. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

the Mangana palace, we shall nonetheless return both to the palace and to the Mangana quarter as a whole below.[4] At this point, it is important only to note that the shape of ninth-century palaces in Constantinople is in every sense difficult to reconstruct. [5]

However grim this outlook, the palace of Bryas – the second of our two identified complexes – has, unlike the Mangana, enjoyed a rather striking degree of popularity in recent decades. Notably, it is alleged by some to represent the paradigm *par excellence* of palatine architecture in the period.[6] A rare combination of existing physical remains and relevant textual evidence is available for the monument, facilitating study. Scholarly interpretations have followed accordingly, most purporting to make their case on the basis of both types of evidence, archaeological and textual.

The most frequently invoked textual source is the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Continuatus. [7] This work, which identifies the building with the emperor Theophilos, provides a number of interesting details about its construction. First, it offers a firm chronological framework for the work, namely between the years 830 and 837. Second, it identifies the architect of the project as a certain patrician Patrikes who was asked by the emperor to supervise the works. Third, it makes reference to its topographical location near the monastery of Satyros, in the Asian suburbs of Constantinople, on a hill. Finally, the same text adds interesting suggestions about the palace's layout and decorative features. It was reportedly meant, for example, to reproduce the likeness (*ὁμοίωσις*) of Saracen palaces in its layout (*σχήματι*) and decoration (*ποικιλία*) as described by the emperor's envoy, John the Grammarian, recently returned from a visit to Baghdad. John, a cultivated man soon to become the Patriarch of Constantinople, reportedly persuaded the emperor to build the Bryas in the guise of its 'eastern' counterparts, distinguishing itself thus from other palaces in that area. Furthermore, he is said to have urged that it surpass them also in magnificence, and that it house a church (or chapel) dedicated to 'our eminently blessed Theotokos' as well as a great and beautiful tri-conch church with chapels dedicated to Michael, archangel of the east, and to 'holy women martyrs'.

With good reason, in the 1950s Semavi Eyice turned to this unusually rich textual evidence in his investigation of some remains located in the coastal

[4] The origins of the Mangana region and some of its buildings will be discussed further in this study; see below and esp. note 38.

[5] The lack of information about palatine architecture can be extended to the late antique and Byzantine periods at large. S. Ćurčić, 'Late Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context', *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 67–92 provides a comprehensive overview of studies about tetrarchic and late antique palace architecture.

[6] See below.

[7] Theoph.Cont., 98–9. For a comprehensive list of Byzantine authors referring to the Bryas palace, see C. Mango, 'Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie: Constantinople, Nicée', *TM* 12 (1994), 347–50.

area of Küçükyalı, across from the Prinkipo islands and thus once in the Asiatic suburbs of the former city of Constantinople.[8] Eyice was the first one to make a convincing case for identifying this complex with the Bryas (Figure 11.1). According to his reports, the ruins seen at that time were arranged in a vague rectangular manner on an elevated position and consisted of an outer perimeter – visible on the northern and western sides – made of ashlar walls and pilasters.[9] In the interior of this outer perimeter was a large rectangular walled space, not free-standing, that incorporated a familiar Constantinopolitan architectural feature: parallel rows of either columns or pillars that support brick domes over the small squares formed by their arrangement.[10] This rectangular space was connected, through two openings, to a central circular hall, surrounded by a series of small satellite spaces forming a square perimeter around it. On the four massive piers of the central hall rested a perfectly preserved brick dome. A long corridor departed from the eastern side of the hall; this must ultimately have reached, it was presumed, the eastern side of the outer perimeter. Both the rectangular space and the central dome, according to Eyice, had been transformed during a later but undetermined period into a cistern.[11]

At this point, for Eyice and for seemingly all those that who followed him, the question arose as to how Theophanes' testimony about the Bryas might be reconciled with the physical remains of Küçükyalı.

Although in 1902 Pargoire had proposed an identification of the same remains with the Monastery of Satyros – built by the Patriarch Ignatios, a contemporary of Theophilos, and mentioned by both Theophanes Continuatus and Constantine Porphyrogennetos – Eyice's views have

[8] S. Eyice, 'Istanbul'da Abbâsi saraylarının benzeri olarak yapılan bir Bizans sarayı: Bryas sarayı', *Belleten* 23 (1959), 79–104 (French resumé, 101–4); idem, 'Contributions à l'histoire de l'art byzantin: quatre édifices inédits ou mal connus', *CA* 10 (1959), 245–50. The ruins at Küçükyalı had been previously recorded and drawn by K. Lehmann-Hartleben, 'Archäologish-Epigraphisches aus Konstantinopel und Umgebung', *BNJ* 3 (1922), 103–6. Although Lehmann-Hartleben produced the first plan, some years earlier Pargoire visited the site and published a comprehensive description: J. Pargoire, 'Les monastères de saint Ignace et les cinque plus petits îlots de l'archipel des Princes', *IRAIK* 7 (1902), 56–91.

[9] The photographs published by Eyice in both articles show the ruins emerging from the ground in bare urban surroundings: Eyice, 'Istanbul'da Abbâsi', pls 5-13; idem, 'Quatre édifices inédits', fig. 2.

[10] Already at the time of Eyice's survey no remains of the central rows survived and it was therefore impossible to establish whether they were originally formed by columns or piers. By the corners of the rectangular enclosure, small remains of brick domes were noted by the author, and are still visible. During the summer of 1993, I observed around the precinct three Corinthian capitals all dating to the first half of the fifth century. The capitals have since disappeared, but it is possible that they might have been re-employed in the rectangular space and topped either piers or columns, more likely the latter.

[11] Eyice, 'Quatre édifices inédits', 245.

nonetheless won the day.[12] The appeal, and in a certain sense the fortune, of the identification of the remains with Theophilos' palace of Bryas rested largely on one compelling fact. It was noticed that certain features of the palace at Küçükyalı, especially the outer perimeter enclosing the central area transformed into a cistern (in other words, the central substructure) and the axiality of the various elements in the central area, closely paralleled those of Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid royal palaces (Figure 11.2). The resemblance to Mshatta, Ukhaidir, and the Bulkuwara palace at Samarra seemed astonishing and irrefutable to Eyice.[13] At the same time the central domed room of the so-called Bryas palace, and the hypothesized upper level above it, seemed clearly to correspond to a ceremonial core. This was compared with the ceremonial space of the Umayyad palace at Mshatta, in which a similar apparatus was located at the end of a processional passageway, a large dome dominated the central area of the 'audience hall' marking the high power area, and where the whole complex emphasized the notion of ceremonial.[14] Furthermore, symmetry and centralization were found in the above mentioned complexes, supporting the idea of close ties in terms of layout and function between the Byzantine complex and the 'eastern' examples.[15] In this way – according to Eyice and all who have been persuaded by his vision – the Islamic component of the palace of Bryas was securely proved.

In view of the fact that so little of the Mangana complex remains, with even less of it having been subject to study, one is sadly unable to gather much evidence at all about the larger Constantinopolitan context for the

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[12] Pargoire, 'Les monastères de saint Ignace', 74. A few years later, Mamboury produced an extremely detailed description of the site and subscribed to Pargoire's identification of the ruins: E. Mamboury, 'Ruines Byzantines de Mara, entre Maltépé et Bostandjik', *EO* 19 (1920), 322–30. Although not taken into much consideration by later authors, Mamboury's description provides a number of valuable and unique details about the state of preservation of the complex. For example, a series of brickstamps, dated by the author to the ninth century, was noticed and recorded, the most significant of which read *magnus presbyteros*.

[13] Eyice, 'Quatre édifices inédits', 248; in particular this parallel was much emphasized in idem, 'Istanbul'da Abbâssi', 95–9 (103 for French).

[14] The comparison with Mshatta has since than been regarded as the most convincing among eastern examples of palatine complexes. Its popularity spread beyond discussions of ninth-century palaces: see e.g. L.A. Hunt, 'Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decorations: Descriptions and Islamic Connections', in M. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), 140–41.

[15] The symmetrical layout, particularly if combined with a certain degree of centralization, is at the base of the commonly accepted paradigms of palatine architecture and of the idea of space meant to convey a notion of power. As studies on Byzantine palaces progress it will be possible to establish whether such a schematic, and seemingly reductive, reading of palaces can be applied to the late antique and Byzantine worlds. For the Ottoman period and in particular for the city of Istanbul, see G. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge MA and London, 1991).

remains at Küçükyalı.[16] But this has not prevented scholars from speaking about a rather well defined paradigm of ninth-century palatine architecture in Constantinople. Naturally, though obviously by default, the so-called Bryas palace has come to represent that paradigm.[17] As such, ninth-century Byzantine palatine architecture has been typically viewed as expressly marked by the early, formative, and experimental years of Islamic architectural traditions. This paradigm implies that ninth-century Byzantine palatine patterns departed substantially from the elaborate articulations and often less canonical features of late antique palace traditions.[18]

This notion of an Islamicizing palace in Constantinople – the epitome of architectural tastes of the day – has fit comfortably into nearly all the standard modern works on Byzantine art and architecture. The so-called Bryas palace is normally put forward as the solitary example of secular architecture of the ninth century and the reference is usually accompanied by Eyice's plan, though rarely by any photographs. In a standard and well known work on Byzantine architecture, for example, the author acknowledges Eyice's work and goes on to discuss the building's substructures, noting that 'the substructures of this palace ... consist of a large rectangular enclosure that does indeed call to mind the layout of Umayyad and Abbasid palaces'.[19] Similarly, a recently published handbook of Byzantine art and architecture repeats previous readings of the complex, claiming that 'these prosaic remains of what probably was another very luxurious establishment do indeed have details in common with Abbasid palaces of the east'.[20] Although both authors recognized that what they were analysing were substructures, they had no hesitations in identifying these with the living levels and then drawing parallels with Umayyad and 'Abbāsid palaces.[21] But many questions remain as to whether Constantinopolitan substructures are to be read as exact reverberations of upper structures, and conversely whether the remains of the latter, where

[16] Lack of knowledge about ninth-century palatine architecture in the capital city might be extended to the Byzantine territories at large. One notable exception appears in the first capital of Bulgaria, Pliska, another in the Bulgarian city of Preslav. Both cities witnessed the construction of elaborate palatine complexes in the ninth century. In particular the palace at Preslav might have had some links with Constantinopolitan examples (and vice versa). See V. Gjuzelev, *Haupstädte, Residenzen und Hofkultur im mittelälterlichen Bulgarien, 7–14 Jh.* (Sophia, 1991).

[17] See below.

[18] On late antique palaces in Constantinople, see my forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, 'Late Antique and Early Byzantine Palaces and Villas in Constantinople: New City and New Countryside (c.330 AD–c.850 AD)' (Princeton University).

[19] C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), 194.

[20] L. Rodley, *Byzantine Art and Architecture. An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1993), 121–2.

[21] To my knowledge, none of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid parallels to the palace of Bryas present any traces of underground structures beneath the living areas.

identifiable, would give way to identical forms in their lower structures These questions, for the particular interpretations involved, are crucial.

In more specialized works on the subject, scholarly interpretations of the so-called Bryas have proved even bolder, as in a recent article on nature and sexuality in Byzantine gardens. Using another chronicle text, written by Symeon the Magister, the author of the article ventures a rather imaginative attempt to reconstruct components of the imperial gardens of Bryas.[22] While regretting the absence of specific archaeological evidence for his claims, the author uses the text by Symeon to indicate nevertheless that the 'surviving exterior walls of the palace and the core ceremonial rooms' of the Islamicizing residential complex were surrounded by paradisial gardens.[23] Like the rest of the palace, such gardens would purportedly have been based on Arab designs by means of some process of imitation. Furthermore, according to this author, the Bryas palace took shape in this way either directly or indirectly under the influence of Iconoclasm, the inspiration for which some scholars trace back to Muslim circles. Perhaps, it is argued, the so-called Bryas was interpreted by Theophanes Continuatus as a symbol of that movement, with the envoy to the east John the Grammarian at hand to encourage its construction in his capacity as 'chief mover behind the emperor's return to a strong iconoclastic policy'.[24] By associating this fervent iconoclast, a palace design originating from the Arab world, and the emperor, the author suspects that Theophanes Continuatus may have been 'criticizing Theophilos for allowing foreign and heretical ideas to enter his court'.[25]

Without entering too much into the complex disputes over influences and attempts to understand the many cross-cultural interactions and exchanges that took place during the period between Byzantium and the Arab world, it may be useful to go back to the physical evidence of the palace of Bryas and to the identified remains at Küçükyalı with a view to placing some of these matters into a firmer context.[26]

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[22] C. Barber, 'Reading the Garden in Byzantium: Nature and Sexuality', *BMGS* 16 (1992), 1–19. It should be noted that the text by Symeon Magister describes the Bryas as a Saracen building.

[23] Barber, 'Reading the Garden', 2–3. Although the term *παράδεισος* recurs often in descriptions of Byzantine gardens, the meaning and function of such gardens is still a matter of great conjecture. Barber's suggestion that the term might have been used by Symeon Magister in order to stress eastern influences in the project for the Bryas palace is therefore problematic: it seems that such a suggestion is based soley on the principle that since the Bryas imitates eastern palaces, consequently *παράδεισος* gardens of the Bryas must inevitably be derived from the east. On *paradeisos* gardens see A.R. Littlewood, 'Romantic Paradises: the Role of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance', *BMGS* 5 (1979), 95–114.

[24] Barber, 'Reading the garden', 4.

[25] Ibid.

[26] The question of the interactions and exchanges between the Byzantine and the Arab worlds has been addressed elsewhere in this volume; see the contributions by Sidney Griffith, Paul Magdalino, Eduardo Manzano Moreno, and Paul Speck.

Before doing that, let me briefly sum up the main facts about the ruins at Küçükyalı. The identification of the site as the Bryas palace is based principally on the information contained in Theophanes Continuatus. Eyice's survey produced a plan of the ruins, which focussed largely on the substructures of the alleged central core of the complex. The substructures showed signs of transformation, specifically into a cistern. This transformation was ascribed by Eyice to a later period, although no specific dating was suggested. During the same survey, remains of walls were noticed above the domed hall, but these were neither discussed nor included in the plan.[27] The survey did not yield much in terms of sculptural or decorative materials. A small fragment of inscription was found in the vicinity of the site. This was part of a marble entablature, and read: ... *VIEPO*.[28] Although no definitive conclusion about the reading and dating of this fragment was brought forward, it was supposed that this fragment, together with another one noticed at the beginning of the century by Lehmann-Hartleben, were part of a much longer architectural decoration with the inscription running on it.[29]

A recent survey of the site, conducted in the summer of 1995,[30] reveals that the area around the site of Küçükyalı has dramatically changed since it was seen and recorded at the end of the 1950s (Figure 11.3). Although now engulfed by the sprawling metropolis of Istanbul, the alleged remains of

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[27] Of these remains two photographs were published: Eyice, 'Istanbul'da Abbâssi',figs 13–4.

[28] Eyice, 'Istanbul'da Abbâssi', 87, fig 15; idem, 'Quatre édifices inédits', 250, fig 3c, note 1.

[29] Lehmann-Hartleben, 'Archäologisch-Epigraphisches', 106. Recently, Mango suggested a reading of 'Febronia' for a portion of the inscription. According to Mango, the name of this female martyr saint provides sufficient support for identifying the ruins at Küçükyalı with the palace of Bryas: Febronia should, according to Mango, be seen as one of the female martyrs to whom the tri-conch church of the Bryas palace was dedicated. The inscription would have run on a cornice above the church's apse: Mango, 'Notes d'épigraphie', 349–50. The two fragments discovered by Lehmann-Hartleben and Eyice are indeed part of the same entablature and inscription. As the letters of the inscriptions are said to be 4 cm in height by Lehmann-Hartleben, however, I see a practical problem in attempting to read or see an inscription of such small size placed at several metres above ground level. Mango suggested a comparison with the dedicatory inscription of the northern church of the monastery of Constantine Lips; these letters, though, are 9 cm high. C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'Additional Notes', *DOP* 18 (1964), 300.

[30] The survey was made possible by the Turkish Ministry of Culture, Sn. Süleyman Eskalen from the Hagia Sophia Müzesi was the official representative. Financial support was generously offered by the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University. The survey benefitted greatly from the technical equipment, a computerized theodolite, of the Department of Archaeology at Newcastle University made available by James Crow. Richard Bayliss, from the same university, was the thinking mind behind the machine as well as the author of the final plan, while the Auto-Cad-originated hypothetical reconstruction of the lower level of the complex was prepared by Richard Bayliss and Mark Goodrich. Peter Hatlie of the

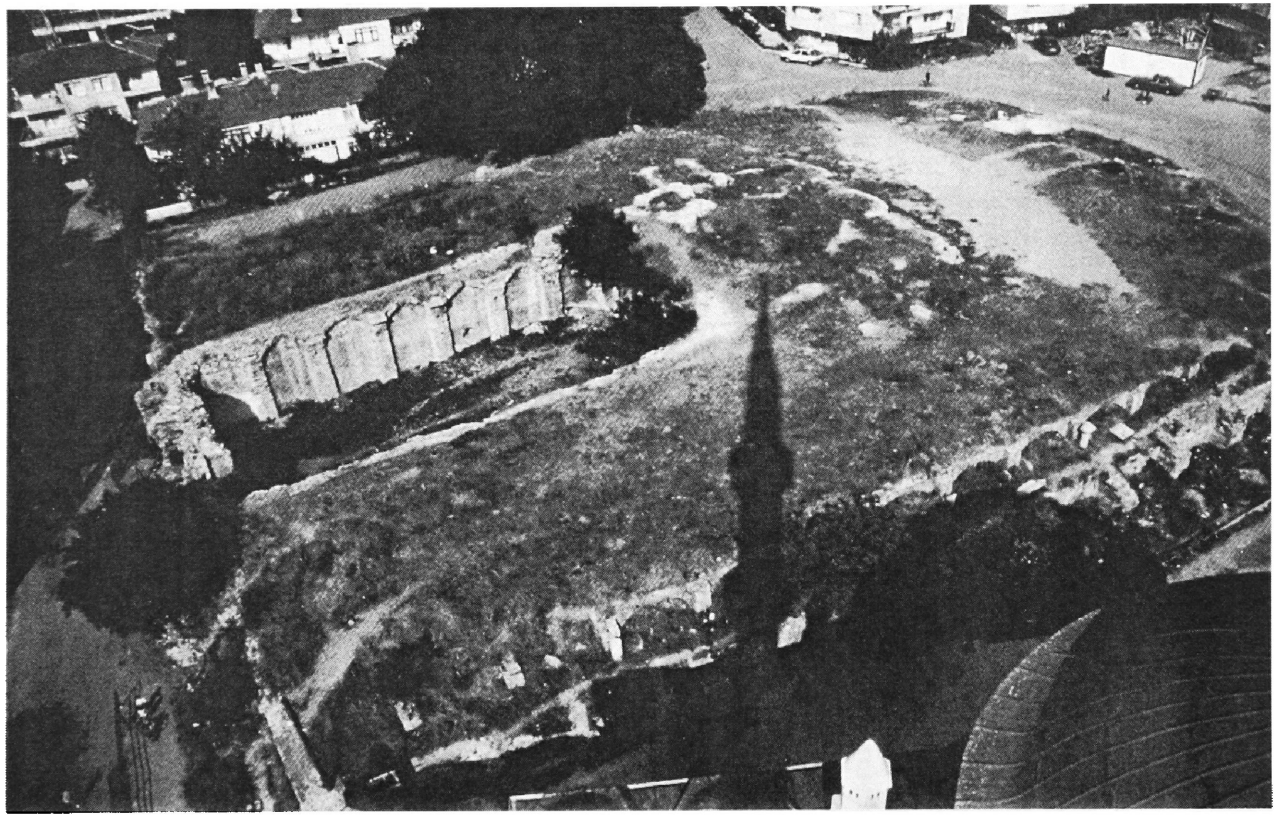

Figure 11.1 *General view of the Küçükyalı complex (1995) (photo: P. Hatlie).*

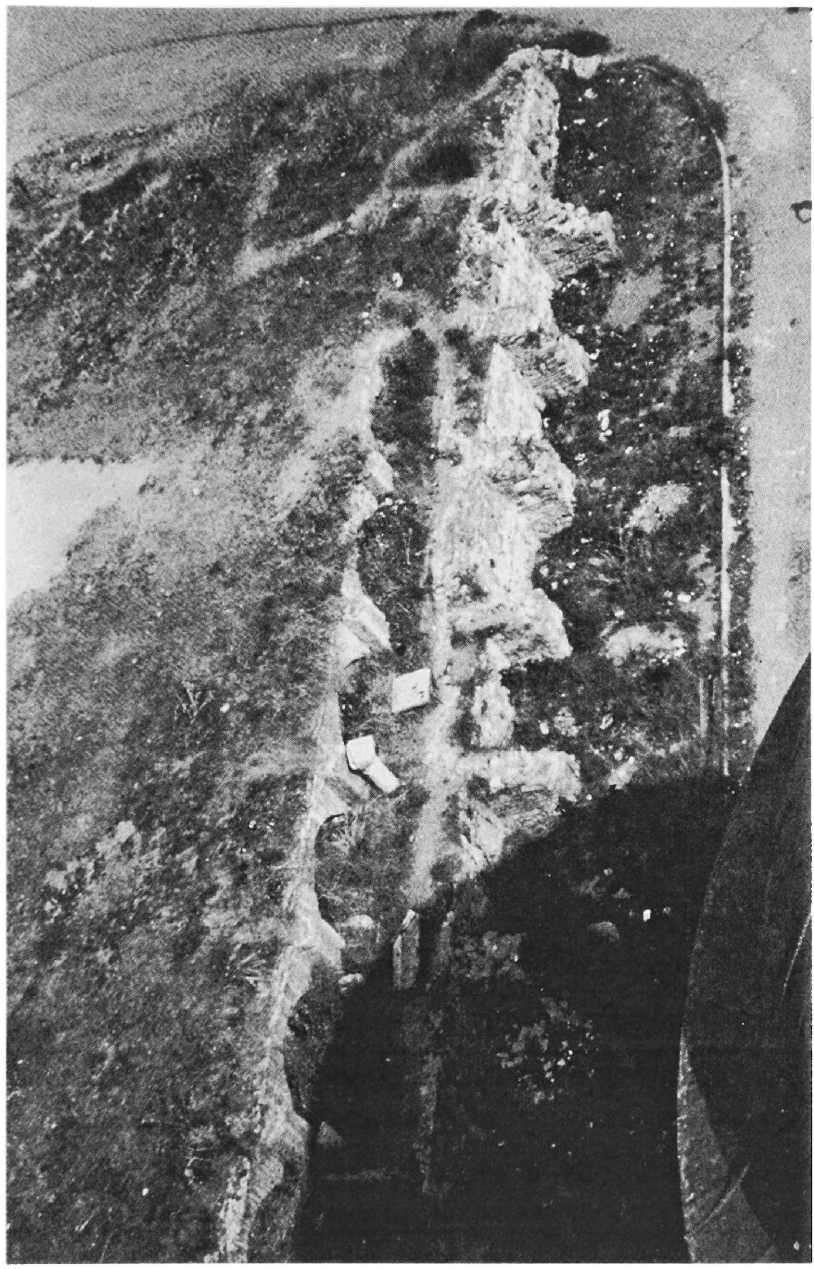

Figure 11.2 Southern side of complex (1995) (photo: P. Hatlie).

Figure 11.3 *Detail of recent piercing of western wall (1995) (photo: P. Hatlie).*

Figure 11.4 *Plan of complex at the end of the 1995 survey season (drawn by R. Bayliss).*

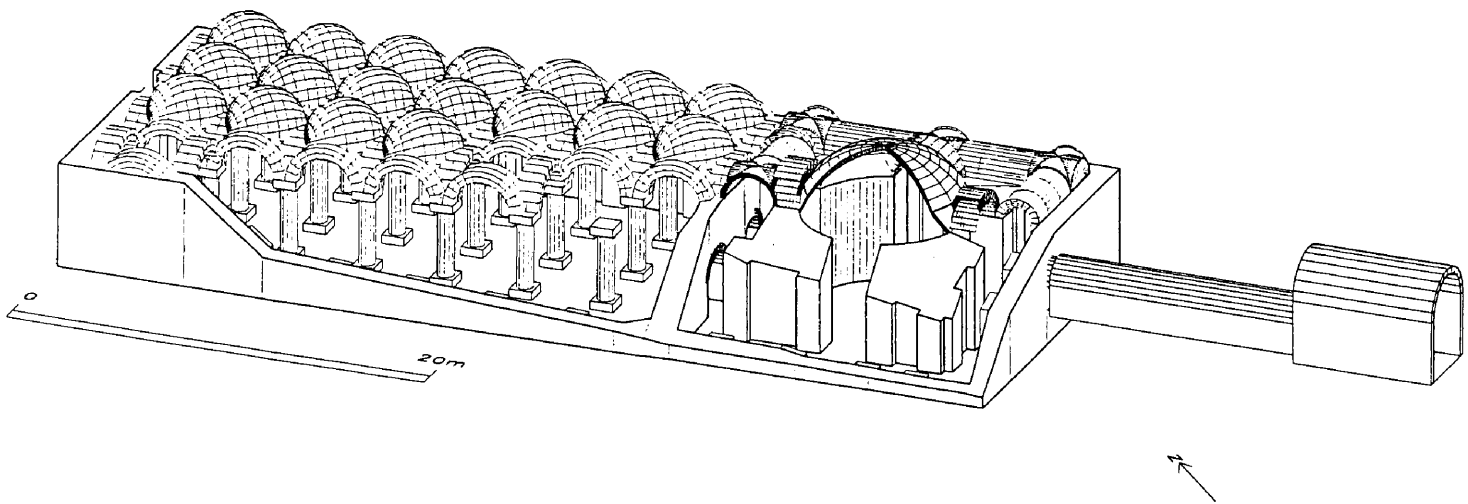

Figure 11.5 *Hypothetical reconstruction of cistern (realized by R. Bayliss and M. Goodrick).*

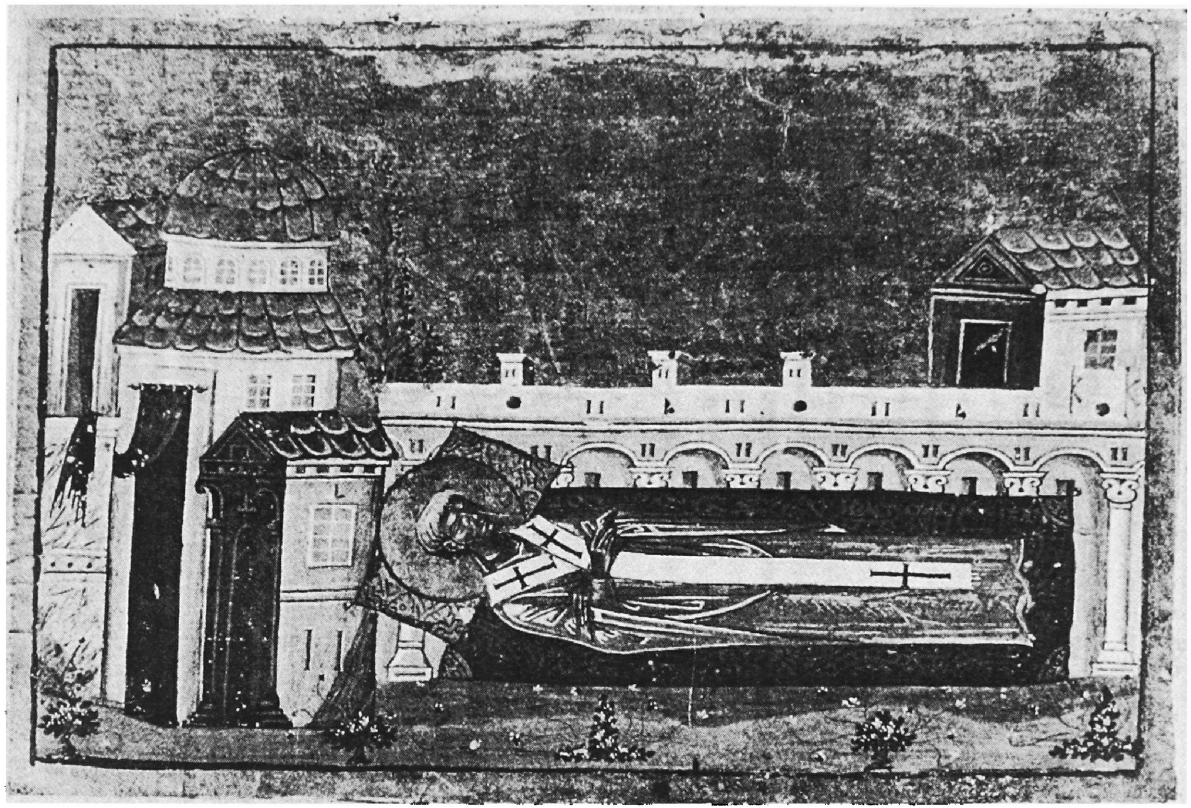

Figure 11.6 The deposition of the Patriarch Ignatius outside the Monastery of Saros (Menologion of Basil II, Vat. gr.1613, p. 134) (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

the Bryas palace have been happily spared the aggressive process of boom-town construction, notably cement, that has swept away many smaller antique remains like it.[31] Their preservation is owed in part, at least for the moment, to the fact that the remains now stand within the shadows of a newly built mosque. What we shall refer to as the Küçükyalı complex still stands on an elevated position and is surrounded by a modern asphalt road on the northern edges of the mosque. During the mosque's construction in 1991, the entire southern side of the complex was brought to light. To my knowledge, archaeological supervision was not undertaken, nor were drawings of the newly visible structures made. The extremely close proximity of the mosque to the antique remains, and the deep foundations of the modern building, suggest that considerable materials must have been removed during the modern construction works. But be that as it may, with time the mosque has become an advantage of sorts. For, first, it may successfully discourage further encroachment and speculation by the building industry on the site. And, second, its high minaret allows some impressive 'aerial' photographs of the complex.

An analysis of the entire area today in light of Eyice's work proves interesting. The sections of what we will refer to as the perimeter wall seen by Eyice are still preserved (Figure 11.4). In addition, there is the newly visible southern side, by the mosque. This side, unlike the others, consists of a double line of walls partly emerging from the ground. The inner line of walls shows a regular series of brick arcades supported by engaged masonry and brick pilasters. The same type of wall is visible also on the northern side of the perimeter, where the structures emerge more clearly from the ground. Here, it was possible to establish that the pilasters and the arches resting on them are clearly meant to be freestanding and thus form a long and rectilinear arcade. Most of the brick arches on this side have, however, collapsed.

The outer line of wall on the southern side consists of irregular masonry and brick buttresses holding a wall which shows similarities with the wall on the western side of the perimeter. The latter, a relatively high wall, forms the western perimeter of the substructures and is articulated by a continuous series of blind arcades. The western and southern sides are seemingly

University of Groningen is responsible for the 'aerial' photographs. Slobodan Ćurčić provided useful insights about the interpretation of the site. Mistakes, misreadings, and misinterpretations remain exclusively mine. The new evidence uncovered in 1995 will be the object of a more thorough survey and possibly a brief excavation and preservation campaign in the near future. The recent article by G. Köroglu, 'Bryas sarayi'nin lokalizasyonu sorunu', *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 73 (1996), 10–14, despite its promising title, adds no original information about either the plan of the complex or its identification.

[31] M. H. Gates, 'Archaeology in Turkey', *AJA* 100, 2 (1996), 330. The best way to get to the remains is to walk some four hundred metres east of the Küçükyalı train station on the main road, until one spots the multi-storeyed, multi-functional mosque to the north of the main road.

continuous, and near the southwestern corner, where the two walls meet, there appear to be remains of a rather spacious internal spiral staircase or ramp. It is likely that this staircase served as a link between a lower level – that of the substructures – and a hypothetical upper level, no remains of which are visible in this area. Traces of the same system of wall as seen on the western and southern sides were noted on the eastern side of the outer perimeter, providing evidence for the existence of an eastern perimeter wall. The two identified buttresses on the eastern side seem to have been strengthened at least once.

It emerged during the survey that the outer perimeter walls continue in several directions. Traces of buttresses and of walls have been recorded to the northwest, embedded in a modern garden precinct. These are clearly aligned with the perimeter's western side wall. Small traces of masonry were also noted near the northern side of the perimeter wall where the modern asphalt road runs. It seems likely that the latter remains once formed an arrangement similar to that noted on the southern side of the perimeter: an inner line of wall consisting of freestanding arcades and an outer line represented by the buttressed blind arcades. A further section of wall was recorded in the foundations of the local Muhtarlik office, located to the southwest of the main complex. Together with structures that were destroyed in November of 1994 to accommodate foundations for a Koranic school, roughly northwest of the western perimeter wall, it is evident that the freestanding and self-enclosed palatine complex, described by earlier scholarship, was instead a much more elaborate series of constructions, which, given the challenges of urban archaeology in this zone, will be difficult to sort out.

Whatever the limitations of the survey, however, it established beyond doubt that the opening within the western perimeter wall, signalled on Eyice's plan as the entrance into the lower level and axially linked with one of the two entrances into the lower level domed hall, is nothing but a recent piercing of the wall (Figure 11.5). Until modern times, therefore, this side of the perimeter had no direct access to the substructure level. This piece of evidence alone, strengthened by the evidence from the other physical remains reviewed thus far, does not recommend the idea of a transformation of the lower level of the central area into a cistern in a later period, but rather suggests that the lower level was meant to serve as a cistern from the very beginning. Furthermore, it seriously undermines the theory of a ceremonial area arranged in a symmetric manner – something very similar to the processional walkway in Mshatta – leading to the large domed hall.

Other observations confirm this view. A preliminary analysis of the building technique of the outer perimeter as well as of the other identified bits of walls indicated that it is coherent, consisting of bands of brick courses alternated with a noticeably thick level of ashlar masonry with small

sized blocks. The same building technique is apparent throughout the substructure walls and central domed hall. Further, the entire lower level of the central core – including the domed hall and the side chambers around it – is revetted by a layer of waterproof mortar, seemingly contemporary with the construction of the wall.[32] Once the western opening is excluded as an antique entryway, it is apparent that the entire area had no means of access and that the rectangular space of twenty-one bays – articulated by three rows of either columns or piers and covered by small domes – was linked to the domed hall through two openings which bear no traces of door posts or similar: we are confronted by a large, closed underground space. The terminal point of the long and narrow masonry tunnel departing from the eastern end of the central dome towards the east, which was not clear in earlier investigations of the building, is in fact two metres above the present floor level though it did not reach the original floor level.[33] It has all of the characteristics of a large sized water conduit. On the basis of the available evidence, it appears that this entire space served from the beginning as a cistern (Figure 11.6).

It may now be instructive to move to the upper level of what we can now call a cistern and present the results of the survey in that area. These were certainly unexpected.

Above the domed hall, consistent remains of an elaborate structure were surveyed. As the plan indicates, the most surprising discovery is represented by what looked like three apses – the central one larger than the side ones, and each of them polygonal on the exterior – facing east. But because our survey did not include permission for excavations, we were allowed only to make very discreet testings on each of the polygonal walls in order to verify the existence of a curvilinear facing on the interior of the wall. This was confirmed in all three cases, thus leading to the hypothesis that the upper structures of the so-called Bryas complex are the remains of a church.

Traces of 'external' or side structures were noticed both on the northern and southern sides. These consisted of a rather symmetrical arrangement with pilasters with engaged columns inserted on the edges. On the northern side, where the remains emerge appreciably from the ground, it was noteworthy that the pilasters were connected to the northern perimeter wall

[32] Few studies have addressed the issue of building techniques and their chronologies in the city of Constantinople, and in light of recent discoveries such earlier remarks as exist have now become obsolete. Given the difficulty of dating the building technique of the lower level, a further survey will aim at a more detailed analysis of the structure as well as a comparative study of surviving remains in Constantinople dating to the ninth century. It should be noted that the building technique of the lower level at Küçükyalı differs substantially from the upper level (see note 34 below).

[33] The original floor level of the central domed area is substantially lower than the present one. The fill of between about 1.5 and 2 metres, if properly examined, may reveal important information about the date of abandonment of the complex.

of the church. This wall revealed an entrance leading into the building, and together with the side entrance walls, stands for an elaborate facade with niches placed at different levels of height and with small engaged pilasters.[34] It remains to be established whether a similar side entrance can be found on the south side of the building.

Above the cistern itself, by its side walls, we noticed the thick foundations of some walls which could possibly be associated with an extension of the church towards the west. At this point in time, one can only hypothesize the presence of an atrium or similar structure resting on the roof of the cistern. It was impossible to determine, however, the degree to which these walls extend to the west.

As for the interior of the building, it became clear that the four massive piers of the cistern were statically connected to similar elements in the upper level. But unfortunately only very minute traces of facing were spotted and only on the southwestern pier. Clearly this upper building was covered by a dome.

Although the plan of the church is by no means a complete one, some preliminary considerations can be drawn. The plan is that of a cross-in-square building with northern and probably southern annexes as well as an atrium extending to the west. Such an arrangement, inserted into the above-mentioned complex, recalls to my knowledge only one other Constantinopolitan example, the much later monastic church of St George at the Mangana, dated to the reign of Constantine Monomachos (1042–55), the substructures of which, along with a few remains of the upper level, were studied by Demangel and Mamboury at the beginning of the twentieth century.[35] In that complex we notice a cross-in-square building with a dome resting on four heavy piers. Four domed chambers are inserted in the rigorous square plan of the church. A similar arrangement could be hypothesized for our building at Küçükyalı. There seems to be at least one side entrance (from the south) to the church of St George, and lateral additions to the north. Moreover, it is clear that the church was linked to an atrium, the walls of which were framed by a series of blind arcades.

What do we make of the Küçükyalı complex, notably on the question of its identification with the orientalizing Bryas palace? Clearly, the results of the survey have greatly undermined the identification of the complex with the palace of Bryas, the one described by written sources at any rate, and in particular the notion of a palace with markedly Islamic and ceremonial features. Although we should not overlook mention of a church with chapels dedicated to the archangel Michael and 'holy women martyrs',

[34] Nearly all of the walls of this level present a different building technique from the one observed on the lower level, that is walls made exclusively of bricks with no ashlar courses.

[35] Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes*, 19–37, and pl. V.

as reported by Theophanes Continuatus, that church is said to be tri-conch. In addition, there is the problem of Theophanes' mention of a chapel dedicated to the Virgin and supposedly located next to the emperor's bedchamber. On this point it can only be said that the size of the present building would not seem large enough to accommodate such a chapel, and furthermore no remains have emerged from the ground to suggest the presence of a bedchamber.

If a more likely candidate is sought for an identification of the remains at Küçükyalı, it would seem prudent in the first instance to turn our attention to one of the few other buildings mentioned in the sources, the Monastery of Satyros, which in fact was said to be built near the Bryas in the ninth century.[36] It is interesting to note that a miniature in the Menologion of Basil II showing the commemoration of the deceased Patriarch Ignatios presents in the background a domed building, opening on to a rectangular enclosure.[37] The walls of the enclosure are decorated by blind arcades, held up by columns. This illustration represents the Monastery of Satyros where the patriarch, founder of the monastery, found his final resting place; it is curiously similar to the Küçükyalı complex, and ultimately to St George at the Mangana. Similarities between the monastery of Satyros and the Mangana region are perhaps not as accidental as it may at first seem, inasmuch as the same Ignatios passed the years of his childhood, before his appointment to the patriarchal throne, in the Mangana region. Since he was the son of the ousted emperor Michael I Rhangabe, that estate was in fact the imperial *oikos*.[38]

In addition to the above hypothesis, it should finally be observed both that the Küçükyalı complex might possibly date to a period not necessarily within the ninth century, and that a palatine church of some sort cannot yet be entirely ruled out. Clearly even these hypotheses need to be explored further, particularly in light of the newly discovered physical evidence. Yet for the moment they should be regarded as possibilities rather than probabilities. A more likely reading is that the structures we have been looking at are best understood in the context of the ninth century and that they should be seen as distinct from the Archangel church mentioned by

[36] R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), 45.

[37] Vat.gr.1613, p. 134: *Il Menologio di Basilio II. Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613* (Torino, 1907).

[38] M. Kaplan, 'Maisons impériales et foundations pieuses: réorganisation de la fortune impériale et assistance publique de la fin du VIIe siècle à la fin du Xe siècle', *Byz* 61 (1991), 353–7 has argued that the *oikos* of the Mangana existed already before the reign of Basil I and that it was part of the properties of Michael I Rhangabe. I am grateful to Leslie Brubaker for this reference. P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), 44–5 has come to similar conclusions adding that the area of the Mangana must have been the object of an imperial donation sometime after the patriarchate of Sergios I (610–38).

sources in connection with the Bryas palace. An indisputable conclusion has certainly emerged: rather than looking towards 'Abbāsid Baghdad and Syria, as so much of earlier scholarship connected with this complex has, further research on Küçükyalı ought to look west, exploring in greater depth its place within the context of contemporary architectural developments and the remaining physical evidence in the city of Constantinople proper.

12. Away from the centre: 'provincial' art in the ninth century

Robin Cormack

At the Iconoclasm Symposium twenty-one years ago two papers by me depended, as we would now say, on a formalist framework, in which style was allowed to run the argument.[1] In a nutshell, this argument was that Iconoclasm may have temporarily changed the character of patronage and the quantity of production, but it failed to alter the course of art. Nor was there any problem about the finality of the date 843 as the dividing moment of the ninth century (and of my papers).

On that occasion the symposiarchs gave me freedom of choice of material, except that Cappadocia was covered in another paper.[2] Things have changed this time. I am directed to the provinces – or are they the regions? – and Robert Ousterhout covers Constantinople. The focus of this paper is on viewing Byzantium away from the centre. That may sound like *Hamlet* without the prince; but more positively the question to put now is how far, accepting that style no longer can assume the central part in art history, has the discourse of centre and periphery, metropolis and province also slipped into the wings? Is there a history of ninth-century Byzantine art outside the capital which is not the history of the art of Constantinople seen through the survivals of the provinces?

One can say on the basis of recent writing on the period that for some art historians the traditional formalist framework is as firm as ever. Just as there was in 1975, so now too there is a massive recent paper by Nicole Thierry on the dating of the Cappadocian frescoes, in which nothing in the argumentation has changed, though more material has been incorporated.[3]

[1] R. Cormack, 'The Arts during the Age of Iconoclasm' and 'Painting after Iconoclasm', in Bryer and Herrin, *Iconoclasm*, 35–44, 147–63; repr. in idem, *The Byzantine Eye* (London, 1989), studies III and IV with 'Additional notes and comments', 4–7.

[2] See A. Wharton Epstein, 'The "Iconoclast" Churches of Cappadocia', in Bryer and Herrin, *Iconoclasm*, 103–11.

[3] N. Thierry, 'De la datation des églises de Cappadoce', *BZ* 88 (1995), 419–55.

From *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, ed. Leslie Brubaker. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

Other scholars have likewise continued to debate the issue of the precise date of Cappadocian frescoes attributed to the ninth century, both as a survey subject by Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, and as an article on the debated Church of St Basil by Natalia Teteriatnikov, in which the dating depends on a reading of the minds of the (inaccessible) patrons.[4] There is also available another well documented paper by Maria Panayiotidi tracking that tough old animal, 'stylistic trends', in Greece from 843 to 1081.[5] And the survey by Lyn Rodley has been described by others as untroubled by the intellectual debates of the last twenty years.[6]

This formalist writing nevertheless looks increasingly eccentric among the conceptual discussions of the perception of the artistic climate and its context in the ninth century, thanks in particular to the work of other contributors to this Symposium, in particular Leslie Brubaker and Kathleen Corrigan. To argue that the ninth century culturally witnessed either a simple continuation or a simple revival would today be ludicrous, and the thought-world of Constantinople in this and other centuries is now better appreciated in at least some of its complexities. I say *Constantinople* here because the study of image and text in the ninth century has inevitably focussed on the place where correlations can most easily be made, such as in the apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia or in the manuscripts like the Khludov Psalter and Paris.gr.510, where the milieu of production seems to be located in the intellectual circles of the capital. In this paper, therefore, I shall be looking for connections of images and texts outside the capital. I shall also want to ask if the patterns of artistic production and viewing outside the capital have their own impetus or if they are linked to parallel universes in the capital.

The major reversal that must now be made from the argument of those previous papers is that contributions to the rethinking of Iconoclasm in recent years have unequivocally suggested that Iconoclasm *did* have a decisive effect on the history of art. This historical breakthrough depends on interpretations which do not rely on style alone or on the proposal of a simple revival of patronage or renaissance of classicism in the later ninth and tenth century. As we rethink the century, I suggest we also need to ask whether the decisive circumstances might have been before 843, and perhaps in the provinces.

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[4] C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l'apside et de ses abords* (Paris, 1991); N. Teteriatnikov, 'The Frescoes of St Basil in Cappadocia', *CA* 40 (1992), 99–114. This church is discussed by Jolivet-Lévy at 184–6.

[5] M. Panayotidi, 'La peinture monumental en Grèce de la fin de l'iconoclasme jusqu'à l'evenement des Comnenes', *CA* 34 (1986), 75–108.

[6] L. Rodley, *Byzantine Art and Architecture. An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1994); cf. G. Peers' review in *Speculum* 71 (1996), 484–6.

The first step is to review the straight chronological analysis of the empirical evidence as we have it, and to ask where possible distortion might be detected. It is clear for example that if we look at the reign of Basil I from 867 to 886, we might be tempted to agree with the hypothesis that there was a planned imperial policy for the *graikosis* of Greece, witnessed by encouragement and support for considerable church building in Greece, right up to the borders with the Bulgarian kingdom, as an official policy of establishing Byzantine supremacy both real and symbolic. The evidence adduced is the quantity of building activity in Greece documented from Skripou (873/4), Athens, and Peristerai (outside Thessalonike) up into Epiros and Kastoria.[7] Renewal then might be seen as the keynote theme in the provinces in the ninth century, as much in Greece as also in the settlements of Cappadocia (where the particular interest in mortuary chapels could in turn reflect a pattern in Constantinople, where it is known in such churches as St John in Trullo). This interpretation might be supported by the suggestion that the expansion of building in Greece was a particular personal interest of Basil I, since he knew the terrain personally, particularly the region of Patras, and benefited from the gifts of the rich widow from that city, Danielis, who even travelled to Constantinople and measured up the Nea Church (built inside the Great Palace between 876 and 880) for carpets which she donated as 'prayer rugs'.[8] Paul Magdalino has pointed out that during this period delegates of the Patriarch of Jerusalem attended the Photian Council of 879/80, and came with letters to Photios and the emperor requesting financial aid for the churches of the Holy City; they pressed Basil to deliver them from the infidel.[9] This documentation gives a picture of mutual contacts between provincial cities and the capital, mediated through the secular clergy and imperial circles. It may suggest that Constantinople was well informed about the regions, but that the initiatives for art in the provinces were dependent on Constantinopolitan help and support.

There must be some truth in this picture of a dependency culture and mutual contact between Constantinople and the regions in the ninth century. It offers one possible source for architectural types in Greece. Although Krautheimer looked for inter-provincial influences, the large

[7] P. I. Vokotopoulos, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ εἰς τὴν Δυτικὴν Στερεὰν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἤπειρον ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 7ου μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 10 αἰῶνος*, Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα 2 (Thessalonike, 1975). The existing village church at Peristera is generally identified with the monastery and church of St Andrew refounded by St Euthymios the Younger in 870/1 (see L. Petit, ed., *Vie de Saint Euthyme le Jeune* [Paris, 1904], 41, 81 note 29), but the question requires further study.

[8] See C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium', in M. Mullett and R. Scott, eds, *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition* (Birmingham, 1981), 48–57, esp. 52; repr. in idem, *Byzantium and Its Image* (London, 1984), essay III.

[9] P. Magdalino, 'Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I', *JÖB* 37 (1987), 51–64.

church at Skripou (at Orchomenos, near Thebes), like the Nea Ekklesia in Constantinople, is a church of multiple dedications (to the Theotokos with parekklesia of Peter and Paul).[10] It was built (as is evident from antique spolia from the ruins of Orchomenos around the site) in 873/4. And there is a common vocabulary of architectural sculpture between Skripou, Asia Minor and Constantinople (Constantine Lips), whether or not the sculptors were local or from Asia Minor; just as there is a common stylistic pictorial vocabulary between Kastoria, Thessalonike, Cappadocia and Constantinople (and to some extent Rome and South Italy, too).

Yet this empirical picture of revival in the provinces, substantially dependent on Constantinople is, I want to suggest, a distortion of the far more complex artistic profile of the ninth century.

A decisive factor in looking at and comparing art before and after Iconoclasm is the question of contexts.[11] John Elsner compared images of the Transfiguration before and after Iconoclasm and found the iconography to be standardized and unchanged. It did not follow, however, that this revealed a 'conservative' factor in art; that, as Jerphanion claimed of Cappadocia, there is an 'archaic' style in the ninth century. What matters is the location of the scene and its 'positional meaning': the Transfiguration is an example of a subject that after Iconoclasm is found less often as a separate image than as part of a liturgical sequence, indicating that its meanings had changed for the post-iconoclast viewer as a result of its place in a related cluster of images. This mutation can be seen as a response to theological and spiritual reasoning among the iconophiles of Palestine, particularly well documented in the Monastery of Mar Sabas, for whom the stimulus to change had been not only Iconoclasm but the need to define Christianity in the face of the challenge of Islam. In these circumstances, there is evidence of innovation in the presentation and content of church services, such as the infusion of ecclesiastical poetry into monastic psalmody. At the same time, iconophiles believed that iconoclasts were wrong to deny a liturgical place to the icon, for they believed that the icon had a functional role in worship and prayer as one effective line of mediation between earth and heaven. These developments 'away from the centre' were taken up by the peripatetic Theodore of Stoudion and the new monastic office was introduced to the Stoudios monastery and Constantinople.

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[10] A.H.S. Megaw, 'The Skripou Screen', *ABSA* 61 (1966), 1–32; R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn rev. by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986), 313–17; D. Pallas, 'Ἡ Παναγία τῆς Σκριποῦς', *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικῶν Μελετῶν* 6 (1976/77), 1–80.

[11] A key study is J. Elsner, 'Image and Iconoclasm in Byzantium', *Art History* 11 (1988), 469–91; also D. Olster, 'Byzantine Hermeneutics after Iconoclasm: Word and Image in the Leo Bible', *Byz* 64 (1994), 419–58.

We can observe therefore in the ninth century the widescale phenomenon of the adoption of new liturgical elements, a new standard church architecture (the centrally-planned dome church) and new liturgical arrangements around the sanctuary. Skripou has one of the earliest datable examples of a new type of templon screen, but this column and lintel structure was clearly the developing scheme of the ninth century, both in Constantinople and in the provinces.[12] Within this new liturgical framework, the icon in the church gained new evocations and meanings after Iconoclasm. Old iconographies perhaps (though not always old: imagery such as that of the Crucifixion shows change and innovation), but new meanings. So when the cathedral of Hagia Sophia at Thessalonike was decorated with an Ascension mosaic, not a Pantokrator, in the style known from Constantinople in the 880s, we should note less its 'universal' style and connections with Paris.gr.510 than the fact that a liturgical subject is the only subject introduced into the church, and that it is set over the central location of the liturgical theatre of the church.[13] The same use of the dome is seen in Cappadocia, as at Balkan Dere and Kiliçlar around 900.[14]

Reactions to iconoclast thinking therefore set in place a significant development towards a new kind of liturgical art and iconography in the ninth century, which is later further advanced in the monastic circles of the eleventh century. The prominence of the panel icon in the church, and ultimately the independent functions of the iconostasis, were impelled by Iconoclasm; and I am suggesting that the evidence is that a key centre of change was outside Constantinople. By the time of Basil I, the secular clergy of Jerusalem may have been supplicants to Constantinople for sponsorship, but the monks of a previous generation had the greater spiritual capital.

In attributing the decisive moment to Jerusalem during Iconoclasm, with new practices and thinking known in the monastery of Mar Sabas in

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[12] J.-P. Sodini, 'La sculpture médio-byzantine: le marbre en ersatz et tel qu'en lui-même' in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds, *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot, 1995), 289-311 discusses the materials of the templon screen and its decoration (marble, wood, ceramic, and enamel). Megaw, 'Skripou Screen', had suggested that *proskynetaria* icons on either side of the screen were a feature at Skripou, and that this was a feature developing in the ninth century.

[13] The date of the Ascension mosaic and its homogeneity or not with with the inscription recording the name of an archbishop Paul remains controversial. If both are dated to the 880s and Paul identified as a correspondent of Photios, then a link between Constantinople and Thessalonike is quite direct. However see K. Theoharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki* (Oxford, 1988) for alternative suggestions.

[14] N. Thierry, 'Peintures paléochrétiennes en Cappadoce, l'église no. 1 de Balkan Dere', *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 2 (Paris, 1968), 53–9. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les Églises Byzantines de Cappadoce*, 141 prefers to date Kiliçlar around 950, as argued by J.A. Cave, 'The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Kiliçlar Kilise: Aspects of Monumental Decoration in Cappadocia', Ph.D. thesis (Pennsylvania State University, 1984).

particular, stimulated by the eighth-century figure St John of Damascus and duly taken up by the Constantinopolitan iconophiles, one might wonder if this religious hothouse atmosphere even influenced the Sinai icon showing (amongst other scenes) the Pentecost that Weitzmann attributed to Palestine in the second half of the ninth century.[15] Its unique feature at this time is the representation not of the hetimasia at the Pentecost, but of Christ as the source of the Holy Spirit. Could this be linked to a debate about the *filioque* clause and the nature of the Holy Spirit in Palestine? The Greek monks of Mar Sabas opposed the Benedictines of the Mount of Olives in 808 on the *filioque* clause, and they went to Constantinople in 813 to lobby the patriarch (and never moved on to Rome).[16]

This argument about the realignment of the functions and viewing of art in the ninth century identifies a long term 'revolution', but one which can only be fully appreciated in artistic survivals after 843 – although it may be possible to see another measure of this shift in the uses and decoration of art in the *encolpia* of the first half of the century, some of which may have been made and used outside Constantinople.[17] I can only refer you to the work of Anna Kartsonis to see the possibilities of this material.[18]

This leads on to the problem of how decisively we ought to structure an analysis of ninth-century art around the triumph of orthodoxy in 843. Obviously by the hindsight of Byzantine culture itself, as seen in the British Museum fourteenth-century icon which is a commentary on orthodoxy,[19] we can see the final end of Iconoclasm as the definitive moment whereafter to be an orthodox Christian meant to have and to hold holy icons. I am unsympathetic to those who have argued that Iconoclasm has been much exaggerated, and that second Iconoclasm in particular was a much watered down movement (which turned a blind eye *as a matter of ideology* to icons in the upper parts of churches). I remained convinced that Iconoclasm lasted as a politicized and high profile intellectual crisis. However my recent reading of a sermon by a famous iconoclast while he was Bishop of Thessalonike does suggest that we need to understand the mentalities of the ninth century and not attribute to them the same bigotries as the churchmen of the Reformation. Just as Ihor Ševčenko has suggested that the network of friends and correspondents of Theodore the Stoudite exhibited highly fluid and pragmatic attitudes and allegiances, I can offer

[15] Sinai B.45: Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, 73–6, pl. CI.

[16] See C. Mango, *Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge MA, 1958), 21–2.

[17] E. Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art', *CA* 36 (1988), 51–73.

[18] See A.D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986); and further publications including 'The Emancipation of the Crucifixion', in A. Guillou and J. Durand, eds, *Byzance et les images* (Paris, 1994), 151–87.

[19] See D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium, Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994), 129–31.

you a case of an iconoclast during the last year of Iconoclasm who was quite capable of constructing a sermon which assumes an acceptance of the existence and power of icons.[20]

My reference to this sermon and its circumstances will be brief. It was given in the Church of the Acheiropoietos in Thessalonike on 25 March 842 by the famous intellectual Leo the Philosopher, at that time the iconoclast Bishop of Thessalonike. A long passage describes a miracle which he says took place in the fifth century in this very church, when a young Jewish girl was cured of deafness and converted to Christianity. The miracle was brought about with the help of icons of St Demetrios and of the Virgin Mary; the icons allowed her to recognize the saints in her dream.[21] This story of a past miracle is recounted with great detail and possible anachronisms – the emphasis which it has on the conversion of the Jews fits closely into ninth-century missionary activity along these lines – and I am even prepared to suggest that the source of the story for Leo was not textual, for it appears in none of the many miracle texts of St Demetrios, but that it was visual. The story was an interpretation of the unique cycle of the young girl Maria in the north inner aisle mosaics of Hagios Demetrios.[22]

So during Iconoclasm in Thessalonike we have the archbishop publicly accepting the power of icons, an archbishop who was subsequently dismissed and replaced by an iconophile. Clearly then the iconoclast mind allowed a certain range of doctrinal interpretation and tolerance. But equally important this sermon implies that icons were openly visible in the city. This was presumably true of the Church of St Demetrios and of the Rotunda – for how could these high mosaics ever have been systematically concealed? Even the Ottoman use of the building as a mosque made do with roughly painting over the figures – and we also can assume it to be the case at Hosios David where a miraculous icon of Christ, initially covered by the iconoclasts, was exposed again to view under Leo V (813–20).

If these mosaics were on view during second Iconoclasm, then it hardly seems that 843 was the decisive year for Thessalonike for the *viewing* of icons; the significance of the second half of the century was the open celebration of the liturgy among and with the help of icons. So Thessalonike documents the range of visual experience in the ninth century, and the arbitrariness

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[20] I. Ševčenko, 'Was There Totalitarianism in Byzantium? Constantinople's Control over its Asiatic Hinterland in the Early Ninth Century', in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds, *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot, 1995), 91–105.

[21] See V. Laurent, 'Une homélie inédite de l'archevêque de Thessalonique, Léon le Philosophe, sur l'Annonciation (25 mars 842)', *Mélanges Tisserant* 2 (Vatican City, 1964), 281-302; R. Cormack, 'The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki. A Re-examination in the Light of the Drawings of W.S. George', *ABSA* 64 (1969), 50–51; repr. in idem, *The Byzantine Eye* (London, 1989), essay I.

[22] Ibid.

of 843. I want to enlarge on this by looking at the other art of the ninth century in the city. After Iconoclasm, the church of Hagia Sophia and the apse of the Rotonda were both decorated with representations of the Ascension. I have already seen these choices within a liturgical context. Of course the formalist will look at the decorations as examples of the 'progressive' art form of the late ninth century, and will emphasize the ninth century in Thessalonike from these example as a period of innovation and of the revival of patronage. I want to suggest on the contrary that for the ninth-century viewer these may not have been the most important images in the city. What mattered far more was the power of the hallowed images in the churches of Hagios Demetrios and Hosios David, now vindicated as legitimate places of pilgrimage and veneration. It may be that Hagios Demetrios had suffered some damage and that some restoration was necessary: several art historians have argued that the Deesis panel by the sanctuary with the Virgin and St Theodore is a ninth-century product in a traditional style.[23]

The lack of urgency felt about new images may explain the maintenance without change of the cross in the apse of Hagia Sophia; its replacement with the Virgin and Child was left to the eleventh century. Indeed both the iconoclasts and the iconophiles emphasized the importance and power of the sign of the cross: this is particularly clear in the iconophile cross decorations of Cappadocia, which emphasize the exaltation of the cross. In the same way the cross in Hagia Eirene was never replaced; and the imagery of the frontispiece pictures of Paris.gr.510 manipulates the symbolism of the cross.[24]

In respect of maintaining and reviewing the past, Thessalonike differs from Nicaea, where the iconoclast decoration in the Koimesis church seems to have been immediately replaced, and a prominent inscription of *anastelosis* set up: if the man commemorated in the inscription, Naukratios, was the Stoudite abbot and friend of Theodore, perhaps there was a particular reason to be aggressively iconophile here, as there was for Photios in 867 in Hagia Sophia, although his immediate predecessors as patriarchs presumably saw the insertion of a Virgin in the apse of Hagia Sophia as distinctly less of a priority.[25]

Just as everywhere in the ninth century, both in Constantinople and outside the centre, saw an intense emphasis on the sign of the cross (both

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[23] See G.A. and M. Soteriou, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1962), esp. 195. The panel was dedicated by a certain Clement.

[24] See L. Brubaker, 'To Legitimize an Emperor: Constantine and Visual Authority in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines, the Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1994), 139–58.

[25] Nicaea, unlike Hagia Sophia at Constantinople or at Thessalonike, had been the location of iconoclast desecration and alteration.

on the walls of churches as far away as Faras in Nubia and in portable crosses), we might want to connect with this sign of Christian declaration and protection a significant concern, well documented in the provinces (for example, in the wallpaintings of Hagios Stephanos at Kastoria), with the fear of the punishment for sin and contemplation of the implications of the Last Judgement.[26] A reference in Theophanes Continuatus to the power of art also fits this pattern: the effect on King Boris of Bulgaria of contemplating a painting of the Second Coming by a monk-artist Methodios in 864 was instant conversion.[27]

Thessalonike documents another feature of the ninth century. We see here not only the further intensification of the cult of St Demetrios and interest in the image in Hosios David; but the climate of the city was conducive to the emergence of new saints, notably St Theodora of Thessalonike (born c.812, died Thessalonike 29 August 892). She was born and grew up on Aigina, daughter of the *protopresbyteros* of the Great Church of the island, and she was described as both beautiful and rich; she had three children, two of whom died and one of whom was given to a nunnery. Widowed at 25 when in Thessalonike, Theodora gave away her money, partly to the poor and partly to the Convent of St Stephen the Protomartyr, where she spent the rest of her life as a nun. Her early tenth-century *Vita* by Gregory emphasizes her monastic virtues and records how a painter of Thessalonike who never saw Theodora alive produced, with 'God's help' (a dream), an icon which strikingly resembled her.[28] We can see an eleventh-century version of this account in the narthex wallpaintings of Hagia Sophia at Thessalonike. Another Theodora story is about a girl who recognizes the saint in a vision, since she resembled the image of the icon from which the myrrh gushed out in the Church of St Stephen where Theodora was buried.

St Theodora represents the appearance in Thessalonike in the ninth century of a female saint whose powers copied St Demetrios and who was similarly venerated with icons, and who took her place as a regional saint protecting the local inhabitants. More work needs to be done on the remaking of St Demetrios himself in the ninth century. From this period come the earliest biographical accounts, and by the tenth century he had been metamorphosed into a military saint. In this period too it appears that the myrrh-producing properties of the saint first emerge. So the ninth

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[26] S. Pelekanides and M. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), 6–21.

[27] The text appears in English tr. in C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), 190–91. On the importance of the Last Judgement in the ninth century, see further, Nancy Patterson Ševčenko's chapter earlier in this volume, esp. her note 37.

[28] See A. Kazhdan and H. Maguire, 'Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art', *DOP* 45 (1991), 1–22, esp. 5. A similar story about likeness is told in the ninth century of Eirene, the abbess of Chrysobalanton; on the topos see H. Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1996).

century in Thessalonike saw a very active period of renegotiation of traditional saints and the appearance of new ones – all supported by artistic imagery.

I have looked in this paper particularly at Thessalonike. How far is this a typical provincial setting? How far is there a hierarchy of provinciality? We all know that it is not just distance from Constantinople that dictates contacts between the regions and the capital – the sacred site of Sinai was mentally closer than the reputedly pagan region of Mani in the ninth century. I can remind you of the possibility that the Bishop Paul in the (debated) inscription in Hagia Sophia at Thessalonike was the correspondent of Photios.[29] You will also know that the elegant hexameter poem, the dedication by the patron for the remission of his sins, inscribed on the church at Skripou was considered good enough by C.A. Trypanis to be included in his Oxford anthology of *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry*, where he attributes its composition to a member of the circle of Photios.[30] Sometimes one feels that Photios totally dominates the cultural life of the ninth century in Constantinople *and* the provinces![31] Similarly Leo the Philosopher and his sermon represent a close intellectual connection between Thessalonike and Constantinople; indeed, all bishops were appointed from Constantinople and so unlikely to be immune from Constantinopolitan thinking. During Iconoclasm, monks like Theodore of Stoudion came to Thessalonike and made their presence felt. Smaller places like Kastoria are more remote, but it too had its contacts with the centre. If we included Italy and Rome in this paper, we still find innumerable contacts with Constantinople. It is not just that there are parallel stylistic connections – at, for example, San Vincenzo al Volturno, Sta Prassede and the church in the temple of Fortuna Virilis – but there are intellectual contacts as well: Methodios and other exiles were there. Therefore there are always threads to the capital, and though there may have been artists who worked only in the provinces, the evidence of Cappadocia is that, however ideas were relayed, artists made contacts with ideas in vogue elsewhere (although these may have become much diluted by the time they reached the Peristrema valley).

At the beginning of this chapter I asked a number of questions: is there a history of ninth-century Byzantine art outside the capital which is not the history of the art of Constantinople seen through the survivals of the provinces? Do the patterns of artistic production and viewing outside the

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[29] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Svjatejšago Patriarha Fotija arhiepiskopa Konstantinopol'skago XLV neizdannyh pisem* (St Petersburg, 1896), 19–38; datable to 883 or 885: see B. Laourdas, *Φωτίου Ὁμιλίαι* (Thessalonike, 1959), 87* note 2.

[30] (Oxford, 1951), no. 37.

[31] For such a 'reductionist' view of Photios, see C. Mango, 'Historical Introduction', in Bryer and Herrin, *Iconoclasm*, 1–6.

capital have their own impetus or are they linked to parallel patterns in the capital?

So far I have tried to build up a picture of activities in the regions outside the capital and to suggest that ideas current in the Holy Land in the first half of the century crucially affected the whole empire after 843. I have also argued that to understand this period, we must look for the renegotiation of the old rather than expect all progress to lie in the work of the 'avant garde'; and that this was possible to understand from the perspectives of Thessalonike. But while these points may provide a partial answer to my opening questions, they do not offer a distinctive role for the provinces in the ninth century. What one wants to ask is whether living away from the capital gave some variety to the Byzantine experience of empire, and whether the art historian can document this. Let us ask if we can detect regional interpretations of some central initiatives.

I would like in this last section to put the case as follows: if it is true that the outbreak of Iconoclasm represented a reassertion of imperial power in Byzantium, it would follow that after Iconoclasm, there would be some kind of renegotiation of state power vis-à-vis the church and the icons. We therefore need to ask some general questions about how the ninth century handled art and power, and whether we might be able to distinguish centre and periphery in the analysis.[32]

One can suggest that there are three primary demands which imperial power usually makes on art:

To demonstrate the power and glory of rule itself

In the case of the ninth century, this must involve the rebuilding and redecorating of cities and churches, with the claim that this was due to state initiative – either solely that of the emperor, if he wanted to maintain the idea of centralized power, or more broadly by emperor and clergy if power sharing was accepted. In Constantinople, we have the claims for the massive enterprise of Basil I in the *Vita Basilii* of the tenth century, and similar rhetoric from Photios in describing the renovation of Hagia Sophia. Under Leo VI, others close to the emperor emerge as patrons.[33] In the provinces, as in Hagia Sophia at Thessalonike, we find the bishop claiming responsibility; and at Skripou there is no doubt that the rich local landowner, the *protospatharios* Leo, who also acted as imperial agent for the emperor's estates in the region of Thebes, could claim his own initiative for the

[32] For a presentation of the theme in the twentieth century, see the Hayward Gallery exhibition catalogue: D. Ades, T. Benton, D. Elliott and J. Boyd White, *Art and Power, Europe under the Dictators 1930–45* (London, 1995), esp. E. Hobsbawm, 'Foreword', 11–5.

[33] Such as Stylianos Zaoutzes and others within the imperial circle: see Leo VI, sermon 34 (English tr. in Mango, *Art*, 203–5).

building of the church, for the remission of his sins and those of his wife and children.

The evidence of the provinces then is that power could be seen to be broader-based than in the capital, and art could be used to promote local status.

To make spaces and buildings for the public display and drama of power

In Constantinople the Nea Megale Ekklesia was partly made to fulfil this function; it was not a simple private palace church.[34] Auzépy has argued that nevertheless it was not until the tenth century that the emperor restored a fuller public programme of displays and processions.[35] One may also point out that in Constantinople from the ninth century this aspect of imperial theatre is reflected in the appearance of books on protocol (such as the *Kletorologion* and subsequently the *Book of Ceremonies*). These again suggest a period of the renegotiation of practices for the display of power. Ultimately, these are visualized in the British Museum icon of the triumph of orthodoxy mentioned earlier, which displays orthodoxy ceremonially.

In the provinces, new churches like Skripou are of considerable size (28.3 metres in length, longer than Hosios Loukas), and so offer arenas for the display of church authority and power. The development of the centrally planned church with a dome in Epiros and elsewhere likewise encourages the development of new liturgical theatre. And the development of the templon increased the potential for drama and performance art.

Again one can argue that the developments for display of imperial power work one way in the capital, but when followed and interpreted in the provinces do stimulate different and broader patterns of authority and status.

People in power also use art for educating the public about the state's thinking and institutions

If the use of art were confined to the emperor, this might be described as art for propaganda; but one hardly sees this as the scenario in Byzantium, for too many people are always involved in the mutual promotion of power. Photios flatters the emperors that they sponsored the apse Virgin in Hagia Sophia, but the rhetoric simply reveals the ambivalent manipulations of art in such a state as Byzantium. Who is promoting whom?

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[34] See Magdalino, 'Observations', 51–64.

[35] M.-F. Auzépy, 'Les déplacements de l'empereur dans la ville et ses environs (VIIIe-Xe siècles)' in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds, *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot, 1995), 359-66.

In the provinces there are certainly works of art which promote the emperor in power: the circulation of images on gold coins ensured this; and the notion of a Christian state was promoted more easily by a figurative art than a non-figurative art, for one can quite simply convey more. But there is also locally specific imagery. In Thessalonike, the powers of St Demetrios are declared through art which acts both as a record of this power and as an agency of future acts of power; images of St Theodora offer a model image for others to follow, and supply the miraculous myrrh.

So again, the art may have the same structures in the provinces, but different regions may promote different saints and different channels to heaven.

Throughout the empire the state would wish to promote an identity for the people to recognize and glory in. The lesson of the recent London exhibition 'Art and Power under Fascism' was that the ideal promoted for a state identity in Italy was the Roman empire; in Germany, classicism was promoted; in Spain the art of the church.[36] In ninth-century Byzantium, the new identity of an orthodox empire was promoted through the universal acceptance of icons. Since this identity had to be declared as an unchanging truth, icons surviving from early Christianity or reproducing the appearance of the past were obviously ideal; and it mattered that the images worked and made miracles in the provinces: you did not have to go to Constantinople alone for healing or help through icons.

I have asked what are the turning points in the ninth century? On the basis of the apparently rapid restoration with images of the Koimesis church at Nicaea, the case seems made for the argument that, at least in this city, 843 was the decisive turning point. I have used the fuller documentation of Thessalonike to query this profile of the ninth century. What mattered here in the ninth century was the access to hallowed traditional mosaics rather than a rush to restoration: the old mattered more than the new.

This must be a sobering thought for the formalist study of the ninth century.

[36] See note 32 above.

Section III

Byzantium and the Outside World

13. Byzantine relations with the outside world in the ninth century: an introduction

Jonathan Shepard

In the early ninth century the imperial establishment had to reckon with two vigorous dynasties to its east and west. Both the 'Abbāsids and the House of Pepin had seized power fairly recently and each was liable to adopt a belligerent stance towards Byzantium. In 806 Hārūn al-Rashīd, at the head of a huge army, was able quite easily to exact tribute from Nikephoros I, including three nomismata by way of poll-tax payable by the emperor. Hārūn thus showed off his greatly superior forces, 'as if having subjugated the empire of the Romans'.[1] Charlemagne, for his part, proved ready to intervene in areas which the Byzantine government considered to come within its dominion. In laying claim to Venice and authorizing probes along the Dalmatian coast, one of Charlemagne's aims was to press the eastern emperor into recognizing his, Charlemagne's, own imperial title.[2] Successive governments demurred, but at Aachen in 812 Byzantine envoys acclaimed Charlemagne 'in their own manner, that is, in the Greek tongue, calling him emperor and *basileus*'.[3] Thus, within the space of a few years, emperors found it politic to defer to the 'Abbāsid caliph and formally to recognize a western potentate as a fellow-*basileus*. And they could not be sure that a major 'Abbāsid-led expedition would not return. In 838 Caliph al-Mu'taṣim led a massive invasion of Asia Minor, sacking Amorion.[4] The blow to the prestige of emperor Theophilos was considerable, leading him to an attempt at 'grand strategy'. He even incited the Umayyad *amir* of

[1] Theoph., 482 ; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), 145 and 408 note 190.

[2] J. Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*, Miscellanea di Studi e Memorie 17 (Venice, 1978), 117, 126–7; Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 144, 147, 178–9.

[3] *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurze (Hanover, 1895), 136.

[4] Theoph. Cont., 125–31; Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 302–5; M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025* (London, 1996), 153.

Cordova to try and regain the eastern lands which the 'Abbāsids had usurped. As Eduardo Manzano Moreno shows, this was an ingenious, but essentially futile démarche.[5]

By the early ninth century the 'Abbāsid provinces of Syria and Palestine were being transformed, as many of their inhabitants adopted Islam and those remaining Christian used Arabic as a written language. Christian apologists such as Abū Qurrah now treated the Roman papacy as the convenor of 'the six holy councils' which had determined doctrine. The Byzantine emperor's role as their convenor – and general overseer of the church on earth – was fading from the picture.[6] But while local Christians in Arab-ruled territories were hard-pressed to refute the arguments of advocates of Islam, the *basileus* could still compete. Theophilos sent the formidable debater and theologian, John the Grammarian, on a mission to the caliph soon after his accession in 829. Upon his return, John allegedly advised Theophilos on the construction of the palace of Bryas 'in imitation of those of the Saracens'. And Theophilos' refurbishment of the Great Palace enabled him to receive embassies in sumptuous halls whose mechanical devices may well have been intended to match those of Baghdad.[7] It is perhaps no accident that the first known lengthy critique of the *Qur'ān* emanates from imperial circles and dates from not long afterwards. In, apparently, the 850s Niketas wrote a detailed refutation of the *Qur'ān*, addressed to the emperor who, 'not content with triumphing over wretched barbarian bodies alone, unless he should also smite as with the two-edged word of truth their souls fighting against God, calls even the Arabs to piety'.[8]

The appearance of texts setting out the formula of abjuration of Islam in the second half of the ninth century shows that the baptism and absorption of individual Muslim prisoners-of-war was occurring inside the empire.[9] But few in the imperial establishment envisaged or even desired the conversion of the caliph and his subjects to Christianity *en masse*. As they were probably aware, the tide of conversions was running strongly in the opposite direction. The most that could be hoped for in terms of earthly

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[5] See Manzano Moreno's chapter later in this volume; and J. Shepard, 'The Rhos Guests of Louis the Pious: Whence and Wherefore?', *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995), 43–5.

[6] See Marie-France Auzépy's and Sidney Griffith's chapters in this volume.

[7] Theoph. Cont., 95–8, 141–3; Leo Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), 215; C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), 149, 160–61; and Paul Magdalino's chapter later in this volume.

[8] Niketas, *Refutatio ... Mohamedis*: *PG* 105: 672; A.-T. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam* (Louvain and Paris, 1969), 118–26.

[9] A. Rigo, 'Una formula inedita d'abiura per i musulmani (fine X-inizi XI secolo)', *RSBN* n.s. 29 (1992) [1993], 163–4, 170. See also Constantine VII, *De caerimoniis* II, 49: ed. I. I. Reiske, 1 (Bonn, 1829), 694–5.

strategy was not so much 'triumph' as relief from the threat of major invasion through the 'Abbāsids' preoccupation with internal disorder.[10]

Exchanges of grand embassies were, for the emperor, a valuable means of demonstrating to members of his élite, if not to all his subjects, that he was holding the line, ideologically and doctrinally, against the Muslim archenemy and in this respect, at least, could still be accounted world-class. At another level, they were a practical means of regulating relations with an established, if hostile, power. From the early ninth century exchanges or ransomings of prisoners became a fairly regular event, overlaid with ceremonial.[11] Preliminary negotiations at the caliph's court for truces could also provide opportunities for making contact with prominent Byzantine defectors and inveigling them into returning.

Defections of notables were an ever-present possibility for the imperial regime[12] and they illustrate the ambiguities in the relations between the two courts. The intellectuals often chosen to head eastbound embassies were prize-exhibits and vocal protagonists in the competition to show which regime had the strongest claims to be heir to the ancients' book-learning and civilization,[13] as well as to be worshippers of the true God. But their intellectual pursuits could lead into fields where the Arabs excelled. As Paul Magdalino notes in his chapter later in this volume, a manifesto for astrology which provided ninth-century Byzantium with an apologia for its study treated the caliphate as the current centre of excellence. He offers tantalizing evidence that two sets of astronomical data found in Greek scholia may be linked with embassies to the caliph's court. John the Grammarian may have been satisfying his appetite for empirical knowledge while there, as well as demonstrating his learning. Such pooling of information between Muslim and Byzantine intellectuals would suggest exchanges which their public disputations served to obscure.

What is not in doubt is that an equilibrium of sorts characterized relations between Byzantium and the caliphate for most of the ninth century. Stability was also characteristic of the *basileus*' relations with the western emperor and other Frankish *reges*. The Pepinid expansionist drive died with Charlemagne, if not before, and territorial disputes were confined to a very few areas. The Frankish rulers' desire for marks of respect mostly took a peaceful form, while their intellectuals tended to hold the Byzantines'

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[10] H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (London, 1986), 148–57.

[11] Masudi, tr. in A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* 2,2 (Brussels, 1950), 405–8; H. Kennedy, 'Byzantine-Arab Diplomacy in the Near East', in J. Shepard and S. Franklin, eds, *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Aldershot, 1992), 137–40. M. Campagnole-Pothitou, 'Les échanges de prisonniers entre Byzance et l'Islam aux IXe et Xe siècles', *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 7 (1995), 1–55.

[12] M. Canard, 'Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes', *DOP* 18 (1964), 43–4.

[13] See Paul Speck's chapter earlier in this volume.

literary culture in high regard.[14] Both regimes faced problems of maintaining internal as well as external order and there are hints of awareness of a commonality of interests. As Chris Wickham points out later in this volume, Louis the Pious' reaction, upon apprehending that Rus emissaries might be Viking spies, was to warn Theophilos of the danger.[15] From the Byzantine vantage-point, Michael II assumed that Louis, 'our spiritual brother', would be gratified to learn details of how the revolt of Thomas the Slav had been crushed and the unity of the Christians in the east restored.[16]

Michael's assumption was not ill-founded. As Wickham notes, the sense that eastern and western Christians were essentially fighting on the same side was still strong. For western scholars and their political masters the very rarity of some key texts on doctrine was reason in itself for seeking the Greeks' good offices. And the eastern rulers had an abiding penchant for powerful but distant western regimes which might bring a measure of order to the central Mediterranean without directly menacing their interests. Charlemagne's descendants in the first three-quarters of the ninth century mostly answered this description and the issue of which regime's origins, learning and religious orthodoxy entitled it to be styled 'Roman' was not normally allowed to override other considerations. It was, paradoxically, when that general spirit of amity was converted into active alliance that differences over ideology and issues of primacy were most liable to surface, as at the time of operations against the Muslim occupiers of Bari in 871. The 'bottom line' of the famous letter sent in the name of Louis II to Basil I is an urgent request for a fresh fleet. But the scholar who drafted the letter, most probably Anastasius Bibliothecarius, could mount a fundamental critique of the Greeks', as against the Franks', right to call themselves 'emperors of the Romans'.[17]

Such Franco-Byzantine flare-ups were, however, exceptional. Stability was an explicit aspiration in their exchanges, as it was, albeit unavowedly, in the *basileus'* dealings with the 'commander of the faithful'. The most sustained threats to stability and to imperial hegemony came from other quarters. One of these was quite new: the proliferation of waterborne fortune-seekers – 'pirates' – eastwards from Spain, offering an example and collaboration to the Berber tribesmen and the Aghlabid rulers of Ifriqīya.[18]

[14] M. McCormick, 'Byzantium and the West, 700–900', in R. McKitterick, ed., *NCMH* 2 (Cambridge, 1995), 374–5; and see also Chris Wickham's chapter later in this volume.

[15] *Annales Bertiniani* s.a. 839: ed. F. Grat, J. Vieilliard and S. Clémencet (Paris, 1964), 31.

[16] *MGH Concilia Aevi Karolini* 1,2 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1908), 478 line 9; P. Lemerle, 'Thomas le Slave', *TM* 1 (1965) 256–9.

[17] *MGH Epistolae* 5 (Berlin, 1899), 393–4, 386–90; see also Wickham's chapter below and Marie Theres Fögen's chapter earlier in this volume. Cf. J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)*, BEFAR 90 (Paris, 1904), 89–101.

[18] See Manzano Moreno's chapter later in this volume.

From the late 820s bands of freebooters were exploiting their skills of seamanship to pare away at imperial authority on Sicily and efface it rapidly from Crete. It was partly to deal with this novel form of challenge that Theophilos launched his diplomatic offensives of the years 839 to 841. However, the ability of land-based, cumbersome regimes to muster appropriate manpower and orchestrate resources was very limited, even when the political will to join forces was strong. Theophilos' approach to Louis the Pious was no more successful than were his overtures to the *amīr* of al-Andalus.[19]

In 878 Syracuse fell and this event seems to have had a heavy impact on the imperial establishment, whose culturo-religious ties with the city were still close.[20] The lamentations reflected the importance not only of Syracuse but of the island in general to Byzantine strategy, diplomacy and, ultimately, ideology. So long as a governor, disposing of the gold coins struck in substantial quantities in Syracuse, could maintain armed forces, manipulate mainland notables, and dabble in affairs at Rome, his master's shadow continued to fall across Christian courts south of the Alps. The Byzantines' apprehension that Charlemagne would attack Sicily indicates the influence which they believed themselves to gain from its nodal position.[21] The slippage of a Byzantine naval presence from the island, which Syracuse's fall rendered all but inevitable, opened up Calabria to freebooters from Sicily and elsewhere. As Ghislaine Noyé notes later in this volume, raids on the coastal areas intensified from the end of the ninth century onwards.

A different form of challenge to the emperor's hegemony came from nearer at hand. Retaining much of the lifestyle of steppe-nomads, the Bulgars had remained north of the Haemus range for most of the eighth century. It may only have been their destruction in 811 of the invading army of Nikephoros I (himself one of the fallen) and their subsequent sacking of major towns in Thrace that opened Byzantine eyes to the fact that the Bulgars' was not a transient polity which might eventually be subsumed within their own. Khan Krum died while preparing a massive assault on Constantinople itself and not long afterwards, probably in 816, a treaty was negotiated between his heir, Omurtag, and Leo V. Most of its terms seem

[19] Ibid.; and Shepard, 'Rhos Guests', 45–7, 57–60.

[20] Niketas, *Vita Ignatii*: *PG* 105: 573; I. Ševčenko, 'Poems on the deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes', *DOP* 23/4 (1969/70), 223–4; V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell' Italia meridionale dal IX all' XI secolo* (Bari, 1978), 21; T.S. Brown, 'Byzantine Italy, c. 680–c. 876', in R. McKitterick, ed., *NCMH* 2 (Cambridge, 1995), 345–6.

[21] Theoph., 475; M. Blackburn, 'Money and Coinage', in R. McKitterick, ed., *NCMH* 2 (Cambridge, 1995), 542–3. For one of numerous instances of the governor's role as agent – seeing to the investment of Arichis of Benevento as a *patrikios* in 788 – see *MGH Epistolae* 3 (Berlin, 1892), 617.

to have derived from an earlier treaty. However, this treaty, seemingly unlike any earlier one, was set in stone at Pliska with an enumeration of points along the border south of the Haemus.[22] The monument made it harder for the emperor arbitrarily to revoke the treaty and it seems that subsequent modifications were engraved in stone on the khans' behalf through the first half of the ninth century.[23]

The parading of Greek-language stone inscriptions was just one facet of the attempts of Omurtag and his successors to project an image of established rule at their palace, itself rebuilt in stone after Nikephoros' sack. Their aspirations for autonomous legitimacy were also expressed by the use of the phrase 'prince from God' on these monuments.[24] The 816 treaty was honoured for most of its thirty-year duration. Yet Byzantine men of affairs are likely to have viewed the consolidation of Bulgar power with frustration and apprehension. Not only did it foil their own plans gradually to restore imperial hegemony over the length of major rivers such as the Maritsa; it involved the extension of Bulgar overlordship far to the south-west and an increase in the serviceable manpower available to a regime which maintained a high level of military preparedness. The Bulgars' formidable military potential had to be reckoned with, and the government was well aware that troops could only be drafted from Europe to fight in the east when peace with the Bulgars was firm.[25]

A treaty was the obvious means of keeping the peace and it is probable that a new agreement was ratified early in the reign of Boris (852–89). But the Bulgars' ability to negotiate from strength and expand through the Balkan interior sharpened the emperor's interest in the steppes beyond their lands. At approximately the same time two militarily formidable peoples, the Hungarians and the Rus, began respectively to occupy and to visit the Black Sea steppes. The date and circumstances of the Hungarians' arrival there are controversial but it is likely that they were still newcomers in the 830s.[26] Their potential as a standing distraction to the Bulgar war-machine can hardly have escaped the Byzantines' notice and from this there followed a quest for watchposts and points from which bribes and other pressures could be applied. In, most probably, 840 a team of craftsmen under Petronas was sent to the Lower Don in response to the Khazar khagan's request. The

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[22] It seems that only the Byzantines' undertakings were inscribed on the extant marble column: V. Beshevliev, *P'rvob'lgarski nadpisi* (Sofia, 1979), 152, 162; P. Soustal, 'Bemerkungen zur byzantinisch-bulgarischen Grenze im 9. Jahrhundert', *Mitteilungen des Bulgarischen Forschungsinstituts in Österreich* 8 (1986), 150–53.

[23] Beshevliev, *Nadpisi*, 163–9.

[24] Beshevliev, *Nadpisi*, 71–2.

[25] Theoph.Cont., 181; J. Shepard, 'Slavs and Bulgars', in R. McKitterick, ed., *NCMH* 2 (Cambridge, 1995), 237–8.

[26] G. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century* (Szeged, 1996), 54–5, 85–7, 127–8.

fortress which they built at Sarkel was not without military significance, overlooking as it did an important crossing-point.[27] Theophilos cannot have had firm grounds for supposing that his relations with the khagan would remain amicable or for predicting the future course of the Khazars' dealings with the Hungarians. The Hungarians may then have been at odds with the Khazars or in a state of formal submission. In either case Sarkel is likely to have been built to help the Khazars provide against Hungarian raids into their central territories or general unruliness.[28] And, in the former case, the forging or reforging of the khagan's links with some, if not all, of the Hungarian 'tribes' was always a possibility. The distinctive fortress, with brickwork of superlative quality,[29] was a conspicuous affirmation not only of the emperor's willingness to co-operate with the khagan but also of his well-funded concern for the steppes in general. The message, with its implications of rewards and favours, would not have been lost on Hungarians using the crossing-point in peace or war.

A more direct way of maintaining contacts with the steppe peoples was established at the same time as Sarkel was built. Petronas was raised to the rank of *protospatharios* and made *strategos* of Cherson and also the *klimata* – the other settlements in the south-eastern Crimea.[30] This assignment of 'one who had acquired local experience and was not unskilled in affairs'[31] implies a need both for information and for a competent intermediary with steppe peoples. The role of Cherson's officials as manipulators of northern peoples against the Bulgars, well-attested for the tenth century,[32] was most probably already envisaged in Petronas' time. It may have been around then that an attempt was made to bolster existing Christian communities in the south-eastern Crimea and spread the word further east throughout the Khazar dominions by creating a metropolitanate based at Doros in 'Gothia'. Its bishops could do pastoral work among the nomads

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[27] Constantine VII, *De administrando imperio* 42 lines 35–9: ed. and tr. G. Moravcsik and R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington DC, 1967), 182–5; M. Artamonov, 'Khazarskaia krepost' Sarkel', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7 (1956), 323, 325, 327, 340–41.

[28] Constantine VII, *De administrando imperio* 38 lines 25–31: ed. and tr. Moravcsik and Jenkins, 170–3; see Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 129–38.

[29] P.A. Rappoport, 'Krepostnye sooruzhenia Sarkela' (Trudy Volgo-donskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii 2), *Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR* 75 (1959), 14, 16, 19–22, 39.

[30] Constantine VII, *De administrando imperio* 42 line 51: ed. and tr. Moravcsik and Jenkins, 184–5. On the new theme's nomenclature, see now the suggestions of C. Zuckerman, 'Two Notes on the Early History of the Thema of Cherson', *BMGS* 21 (1997) (forthcoming).

[31] Constantine VII, *De administrando imperio* 42 lines 49–50: ed. and tr. Moravcsik and Jenkins, 184–5.

[32] D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971), 109–10; idem, 'The Empire and its Northern Neighbours 565–1018', in *Cambridge Medieval History* 4, 1 (Cambridge, 1966), repr. in his *Byzantium and the Slavs* (New York, 1994), 58.

of the Crimean and Azov steppes.[33] Such contacts would be valuable in a region where predatory bands of Hungarians were liable to set upon travellers venturing far from Cherson.[34]

It was most probably the Hungarians who were the chief target of the Byzantine diplomats' allusion to 'most savage peoples of exceedingly great ferocity' imperilling the direct route northwards of Theophilos' Rus visitors in 838–39.[35] Only from around then is there evidence suggestive of a Rus political structure and of Rus bringing goods to the Black Sea region. Their centre, in so far as they had one, most probably lay far to the north, on Lake Ilmen.[36] But the Rus' visit may well have been a repercussion of diplomatic feelers put out by Theophilos, and his solicitousness for their safe return to their *chaganus* should be seen as unfeigned. If he could incite the Umayyads of al-Andalus against the 'Abbāsids, he may also have envisaged for the Rus, or their Baltic compatriots, a naval role in operations against the Sicilian Muslims. He was anyway on the lookout for northern potentates with whom some sort of co-operation might be forged.

The revitalization of Byzantine interest in northern potentates and peoples may be seen as a prudent response to both the Bulgar problem and the appearance of Hungarians and Rus on the scene. Unfortunately, a shower of disagreeable events in the 860s showed that the newcomers could compound rather than alleviate the empire's security problems. In June 860 a Rus fleet descended on Constantinople and set about looting and slaughtering, Viking-style. The fear aroused is expressed in Photios' sermons and, very probably, in three hymns of Joseph the Hymnographer.[37] More generally, in Alexander Kazhdan's words, 'the theme of the hostile attack appears in [hymns attributed to] "Joseph" time and again'.[38] The real Joseph and his mid-ninth-century fellow-writers feared attacks from the *ethne* – mainly Arabs – on the capital and provincial towns and islands. The imperial establishment faced serious ideological challenges, too. In, probably,

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[33] J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), 241–2 (text), 32 (commentary); G. Moravcsik, 'Byzantinische Mission im Kreise der Türkvölker an der Nordküste des Schwarzen Meeres', *Proceedings of the XIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, 1967), 21–5; Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, 174–5.

[34] *Life of Constantine* 8: eds B.S. Angelov and K. Kodov, *Kliment Okhridski. S'brani s'chineniia* 3 (Sofia, 1973), 96.

[35] *Annales Bertiniani*, s.a. 839, 30–31.

[36] S. Franklin and J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus, 750–1200* (London, 1996), 37–43.

[37] Photios, *Homilies*, tr. C. Mango (Washington DC, 1958), 82–110; Joseph the Hymnographer, *Mariale*: *PG* 105: 1003–28; A. Kazhdan, 'Joseph the Hymnographer and the First Russian Attack on Constantinople', in R. Thomson and J.-P. Mahé, eds, *From Byzantium to Iran: In Honour of Nina G. Garsoïan* (Atlanta GA, 1996), 191–2. On Joseph see also Nancy Patterson Ševčenko's chapter earlier in this volume.

[38] Kazhdan, 'Joseph the Hymnographer', 189.

861, the Khazar khagan adopted Judaism as his people's official religion.[39] This was humiliating for Michael III, who had recently sent the scholarly Constantine to debate with advocates of Islam and Judaism at the khagan's court. It also damaged the prospects of the missionary bishoprics dotted through Khazaria: a Judaist khagan could hardly be expected to further their cause. Still more alarmingly, Boris of Bulgaria was, in the early 860s, aligning himself with the king of the east Franks, Louis the German, inspiring hopes of his willingness 'to be converted'.[40] At the same time the papacy laid claim to jurisdiction over Bulgaria, as belonging to the ancient ecclesiastical province of Illyricum.

Byzantium's reaction to all this relied partly on traditional defences and defence forces. The waterborne Rus could not storm Constantinople and, advisedly, did not stay long enough to face the *tagmata* pulled back from the east to deal with them. In 863 the combined forces of the eastern themes and the *tagmata* managed to trap the over-confident *amīr* of Melitene, Umar, as he was returning from a large-scale incursion. Umar, with many of his men, perished.[41] The *tagmata*'s striking-power was used by Basil I in the 870s to conjure up an aura of military success. The Paulicians, only relatively recently established as a military force in the borderlands, were overwhelmed but Melitene proved unassailable and Basil's spectacular incursions into Cilicia and the mountains further east did little to alter the pattern of warfare on the south-eastern borders. As Leo VI's *Taktika* indicates, at the century's end strategy remained essentially defensive and relied on natural barriers.[42] Such caution was prudent, since there was no guarantee that 'Abbāsid control over the Cilician borderlands would not tighten, fuelled perhaps by more active sponsorship of the *jihad*. And in fact in 897 the inhabitants of Tarsus asked the caliph to send them an *amīr*.[43]

If Basil's bellicosity towards the eastern Muslims was to a large extent for show, his intervention in southern Italy made more substantial gains. But one must stress that this was precipitated by the fall of Syracuse and relied heavily on the goodwill of local Christian elements. Basil was reacting to the creeping Muslim infestation of the central Mediterranean, an uncongenial development to many leading Lombards. Thus in 876 Gregory, commander of Otranto's forces, was approached by Bari's notables 'for fear of the Saracens'. He entered the city and sent the gastald and other leading

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[39] C. Zuckerman, 'On the Date of the Khazars' Conversion to Judaism ...', *REB* 53 (1995), 241–50.

[40] *MGH Epistolae* 6 (Hanover, 1925), 293.

[41] Theoph.Cont., 179–83; George Monachus Continuatus: ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 825; Whittow, *Orthodox Byzantium*, 311.

[42] Leo VI, *Taktika* 18, 126, 134, 142: *PG* 107: 976, 977, 982.

[43] A.A. Vasiliev and M. Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes* 2,1 (Brussels, 1968), 133.

men to Constantinople to swear loyalty to the emperor.[44] Through forming such affinities Basil was able to deny well-fortified bases and their hinterlands to the Arabs. Byzantine ambitions rose to the level of taking over the Lombard principality of Benevento and in 891 the *strategos* Symbatikios made his residence in the prince's palace in the town. Work was then continuing on the construction or refurbishment of religious centres and numerous strongpoints in Calabria,[45] in a strategy reminiscent of that adopted for the enclaves in Macedonia and Greece.

However, this did not put an end to the Muslims' mainland possessions and the creation of 'une sorte de *limes*' in Calabria[46] represented tacit recognition that Sicily was beyond redemption for the foreseeable future. This made sense in the face of 'polycentric', mobile foes who could strike unexpectedly. But the empire had possessed in Sicily a kind of unsinkable operational base yielding wide-ranging influence in Latin Christendom. The redoubts in Calabria could not yield those powers of intervention and expansionism northwards and brought the imperial authorities to blows with regional potentates: in 895 the citizens of Benevento expelled the Byzantine garrison from their town with the aid of Guy of Spoleto and a former adherent of the *basileus*, Guaimar of Salerno.[47] The new holdings were unable to bar the Muslim raiders' passage further eastwards. Even after the Byzantine recapture of Crete, a key staging-post, Sicilian and North African Muslims proved capable of raiding as far east as the Aegean.[48] The endemic insecurity of the seaways from the end of the ninth century tended to isolate Byzantium from Latin Christendom .

Where Byzantium's reaction to the reverses of the 860s took novel forms was in the Balkans and the north, and here its horizons widened rather than contracted. The conversion of the Khazars to Judaism showed that 'barbarian' regimes could abruptly turn to a 'religion of the book' other than Byzantine Orthodoxy and it may well have jolted the government into a more positive attitude towards mission work than had been thought necessary or desirable hitherto. Soon after their unremunerative raid on Constantinople, the Rus requested baptism and a bishop was sent, accompanied by priests.[49] About the same time, Prince Rastislav of Moravia's request for

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[44] Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, 38: ed. G. Waitz in *MGH, Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum saec. VI–IX* (Hanover, 1878), 249; von Falkenhausen, *Dominazione*, 20–21.

[45] See Ghislaine Noyé's chapter later in this volume.

[46] Ibid., 232.

[47] Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 149; von Falkenhausen, *Dominazione*, 36–7.

[48] John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, *CFHB* 5, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin and New York, 1973), 386, 397, 398; E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin, 1966), 384–5.

[49] Theoph.Cont., 196; Franklin and Shepard, *Emergence*, 54.

'a bishop and teacher' was answered, although not in the form of a bishop or a full-blown mission. Instead, Michael III sent the brothers Constantine and Methodios.[50] The former had argued the case for Orthodoxy before the caliph and in Khazaria and the brothers were partly chosen for their fluent Slavonic, presumably in the expectation that they would be able both to debate and to offer pastoral instruction, as circumstances required. Although one of them, Constantine, may have been a priest, their primary role was that of teachers and, perhaps, information-gatherers for the emperor.

Keener attention was paid to ecclesiastical organization in respect of Bulgaria. The circumstances of the Bulgars' conversion are uncertain.[51] Whichever version of events is preferred, the despatch of a full mission, including prelates, to the pagan Bulgars suggests a different approach from that to the distant Moravians, who were already receiving ministry from Frankish churchmen. The Bulgars could threaten the empire militarily and, as with the Rus, the Byzantine establishment probably hoped non-aggression, if not a degree of deference, would follow upon their conversion. Patriarch Photios, writing to Boris soon after his baptism, sets high standards of governance which make no allowance for his particular situation, and it seems that the Byzantine clergy demanded strict conformity to their norms in such matters as dress and gesture during church services.[52] Boris seems to have been expected to govern on the lines of 'the Roman model' observed by the leaders imposed on Slavs elsewhere in the Balkans. The latter appointments, together with baptism of the Slavs, were attributed to Basil I by his son Leo and praised as a means of turning former troublemakers into serviceable military manpower.[53]

Very few of these undertakings turned out in quite the way that can have been envisaged. The mission to the Rus seemingly petered out and in 866, within a couple of years of his conversion, Khan Boris sought counsel from Rome, together with a patriarch, while asking for clergy from the east Frankish church. A high-ranking papal delegation arrived, together with numerous junior clergy, and Nicholas I's answers to Boris' questions show some regard for his particular circumstances, expressly invoking Pope Gregory's advice to Augustine early in his English mission. Nicholas' avowed concern is 'not that the outward style of your clothing should be

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[50] *Life of Constantine* 14: eds Angelov and Kodov, 104; C. Hannick, 'Die byzantinischen Missionen', in K. Schäferdiek, ed., *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte* 2,1: *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters* (Munich, 1978), 287–95.

[51] G. Cankova-Petkova, 'Contribution au sujet de la conversion des Bulgares au Christianisme', *Byzantinobulgarica* 4 (1973), 23–9; Hannick, 'Missionen', 307–10; P. Schreiner, 'Die byzantinische Missionierung als politische Aufgabe: Das Beispiel der Slaven', *Bsl* 56 (1995), 530–31; Shepard, 'Slavs and Bulgars', 239–40.

[52] *MGH Epistolae* 6 (Hanover, 1925), 587.

[53] Leo VI, *Taktika* 18, 101: *PG* 107: 969.

changed, but the ways of the inner man'.[54] However, Boris was conceded neither a patriarch nor the Latin churchman of his choice as archbishop and this probably rankled deeply: the new cult had to be directed by someone in whom he had complete confidence. Subsequently, a rapprochement was negotiated with the Byzantine government. The new emperor, Basil I, was probably eager for a settlement with Boris so as to free his hands for exploits in the east and opportunities for legitimizing military glory. The details of the deal struck with Boris in 869–70 are unknown: most probably, Basil conceded on the points which seem to have mattered most to Boris, the right to determine who should be archbishop and the nature of the archbishop's accountability to the Constantinopolitan patriarch.[55] Basil may well have reckoned that despite these concessions on church government, the dissemination of orthodox ritual and normative values through the localities and of Greek throughout the élite would gradually erode the Bulgars' separatism, as it had with many Slav communities further south.

Basil I, in 870, had little reason to expect that the Bulgars' language of worship and culture would be other than Greek. But a Slavonic alphabet and written language capable of conveying the scriptures, liturgical worship and theological exegesis was already in being. Constantine and Methodios began translating the entire gospels, other biblical texts and prayers upon arrival in Moravia. It seems that they did this on their own initiative, being on a loose rein from their faraway emperor.[56] The threshold between translation work for teaching purposes and creating a corpus suitable for liturgical worship was easily crossed by intellectuals zealous to expound concepts clearly, cogently and speedily: their visit to Moravia was quite brief, lasting only three and a half years. At any rate Michael III, sending them off in 863, is most unlikely to have foreseen the scale of their translation work. It was Nicholas I, not the Byzantine establishment, who took an active interest, inviting them to Rome in 867.[57] The significance of this and the vicissitudes which Methodios and his entourage subsequently underwent in central Europe were probably not followed very closely in Constantinople. Methodios paid a visit there in 881, reportedly at the emperor's request, and left two of his pupils, 'a priest and a deacon, with books'.[58] The strenuousness of his *Life*'s denial that the emperor was angry with him

[54] *MGH Epistolae* 6 (Hanover, 1925), 588; cf. Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, 89–91.

[55] Shepard, 'Slavs and Bulgars', 244.

[56] V. Vavřínek, 'The Introduction of the Slavonic Liturgy and the Byzantine Missionary Policy', in V. Vavřínek, ed., *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert* (Prague, 1978), 265–8.

[57] *Life of Constantine* 17: eds Angelov and Kodov, 107.

[58] *Life of Methodios* 13: eds B.S. Angelov and K. Kodov, *Kliment Okhridski. S'brani s'chineniia* 3 (Sofia, 1973), 191.

arouses suspicions to the contrary. It may well be that there were serious reservations about the use of Slavonic as a liturgical language, a concession made by Pope John VIII to Methodios in his capacity as archbishop of 'the Pannonians' in 880. By the time of Methodios' death in 885 there were reportedly some two hundred deacons and priests under his charge.[59] Only a few escaped from the ensuing persecution to Bulgaria, notably Clement and Naum. But Boris is depicted by Clement's *Life* as perceiving their value as scholars and pastors.[60] His son, Symeon, tapped Slavonic as a language of education and governance further still. Presiding over a court-school and himself supervising translation work, he governed an orderly, powerful, orthodox polity, and demanded corresponding displays of respect from the Byzantine *basileus*. Such a stance probably appeared repugnant if not absurd to most of the Byzantine establishment.[61]

One might conclude that the Byzantines were playing with fire in sending missions to their northern neighbours and that few of these ventures worked to the clear advantage of the Byzantine state. But three qualifications stand in the way of such a neat conclusion. Firstly, the missions seem to have been precipitated by a series of setbacks and initiatives from foreigners from 860 onwards. Since there was no corps of experienced missionaries at the disposal of the government, it is not surprising that the performance of those sent out at short notice was variable. The clergy sent to Bulgaria in the mid-860s may well have caused serious resentment through their impatience with Bulgar customs. But there are hints that some, at least, in the central administration appreciated the value of churchmen from border areas for mission work: they had more experience of dealing with pagan outsiders and of using their discretion with them.[62] Secondly, the more effective missions only occasionally receive attention from narrative chroniclers, for example the work of the priests sent to the Serbs and other Slavs in the western Balkans.[63] One should not overlook the cumulative effect of their labours. The mere fact that major missionary enterprises were being sustained continuously from the later ninth century onwards probably helped with the organization of subsequent missions, even though nothing resembling a training school for missionaries is

[59] *Gr'tskite zhitiia na Kliment Okhridski*, ed. A. Milev (Sofia, 1966), 98–9, 110–11.

[60] *Gr'tskite zhitiia*, ed. Milev, 120–25.

[61] J. Shepard, 'Symeon of Bulgaria – Peacemaker', *Godishnik na Sofiiskiia Universitet 'Sv. Kliment Okhridski'. Nauchen tsent'r za slaviano-vizantiiski prouchvaniia 'Ivan Duichev'* 83, 3 (1989) [1991], 13–24.

[62] Nicholas Mysticus, *Letters*: ed. and tr. R.J.H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink (Washington DC, 1973), 314–15, 390–91; J. Shepard, 'Spreading the Word', in C. Mango, ed., *Oxford Illustrated History of Byzantium* (forthcoming).

[63] Theoph.Cont., 291; Constantine VII, *De administrando imperio* 29 lines 70–78: ed. and tr. Moravcsik and Jenkins, 126–7; Obolensky, *Commonwealth*, 98–100.

attested and there is minimal evidence of an urge to go out and save souls on the part of the culturo-religious élite of the metropolis.

Finally, the various missions offered, for all their failures and unforeseen side-effects, an unprecedented opening to the north and north-west, giving monks, imperial agents and traders freer access to these regions. The mainspring of action lay with those heads of political structures who were from the mid-ninth century onwards aspiring to autonomous governance or more imposing forms of legitimacy for their regimes, or who simply wanted access to the cult of the mighty God of the Greeks. The imperial establishment's personnel may not have been fully equal to the challenge posed by these dynamic developments beyond the frontiers. But its responses were not always inept, and through showing willingness to send out priests and share the word with 'the nations', it gained an indirect means of affecting the conduct of foreign élites. This 'internalized' influence supplemented traditional methods of humouring or intimidating them. The two most formidable new arrivals to the north in the ninth century both came round in the end. Already by 944 the number of Christian Rus notables was substantial enough for special provision to be made for their oath to uphold the terms of a treaty with the emperors: they swore in the church of St Elijah in the Great Palace.[64] A few years later a 'bishop of *Tourkia*' was sent back to the lands of the Hungarians in the company of a newly-baptized chieftain, the first in a succession of orthodox prelates who would officiate in, mainly, the southern reaches of those lands for some two hundred years.[65] The opening to the north, improvised and even counter-productive as its earlier stages appear often to have been, ultimately yielded more than traditional diplomacy such as Theophilos' overtures to the Umayyads and Louis the Pious, or even than feats of technical virtuosity such as the building of Sarkel.

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[64] *Povest' Vremennykh Let* 1, ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts and D.S. Likhachev (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), 38; J. Malingoudi, *Die russisch-byzantinischen Verträge des 10. Jahrhunderts aus diplomatischer Sicht* (Thessalonike, 1994), 46 and note 100. For tenth-century Rus rulers' interest in Byzantine Christianity, see Franklin and Shepard, *Emergence*, 135–7, 161–3.

[65] Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*: ed. Thurn, 239; N. Oikonomidès, 'À propos des relations ecclésiastiques entre Byzance et la Hongrie au XI siècle: le métropolite de Turquie', *RESEE* 9 (1971), 527–33; P. Stephenson, 'Manuel I Comnenus, the Hungarian crown and the 'feudal subjection' of Hungary, 1162–67', *Bsl* 57 (1996), 35 and note 15; I. Baán, 'La métropole de Tourkia ...', in *Byzantium. Identity, Image, Influence, XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Abstracts of Communications* (Copenhagen, 1996), no. 6232.

14. What has Constantinople to do with Jerusalem? Palestine in the ninth century: Byzantine Orthodoxy in the world of Islam

Sidney Griffith

In the course of the first 'Abbāsid century (750–850) in the world of Islam, Constantinople and Jerusalem lost the seemingly free and easy colloquy they had enjoyed for more than a century across the borders of the Roman empire and the newly established caliphate of the Muslim Arabs. Indeed for a time, to judge by the relationships between the Christian churches in the seventh and eighth centuries, it had been almost as if the frontier between two rival political monotheisms did not exist. Although Islam had monumentally stated its objection to Christianity in the very heart of Jerusalem with the construction of the Dome of the Rock in the reign of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705), and every year the caliph's forces tried again to capture Constantinople, in the eighth century Christians living in the Holy City continued to make substantial contributions to the life of the Greek-speaking church of Byzantium. In fact, as Cyril Mango has written, 'the most active centre of Greek culture in the eighth century lay in Palestine, notably in Jerusalem and the neighbouring monasteries'.[1] Constantinople and Jerusalem were still just over one another's horizons.[2]

But already in the last years of the eighth century, and coming strikingly into view in the first decades of the ninth century, something new was happening in the life of the Christians in Palestine. Socio-political changes brought about a growing distance between Constantinople and Jerusalem; Christians in the caliphate took on the culture of the world of Islam and adopted the Arabic language; and the preoccupying theological concern of

[1] C. Mango, 'Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest', in G. Cavallo *et al.*, eds, *Scritture, Libri e Testi nelle Aree Provinciali di Bizanzio* 1 (Spoleto, 1991), 149–50.

[2] See M.-F. Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe-IXe siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène', *TM* 12 (1994), 183–218.

the Arabic-speaking Christians was to articulate their faith in response to the religious challenge of Islam, in the very idiom of the challenge.

Constantinople and Jerusalem in the ninth century

Trouble had been brewing in Palestine as early as the time of the emperor Constantine VI (780–97), and the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786–809); it continued through the wars of succession after the caliph's death between his sons al-Amin (809–13) and al-Ma'mūn (813–33). Surviving reports speak of the wrack and ruin wrought by marauding 'Saracen' tribesmen in Palestine, including the sack of the monastery of Mar Chariton in 788 and the massacre of twenty of the monks of Mar Sabas in the year 797.[3] It is clear from Islamic historians as well that in the ninth century in Palestine, Beduin unrest was common, regularly issuing in destructive raids on Jerusalem and the surrounding towns and villages.[4] Once the 'Abbāsids had consolidated their position after 750, and especially after the installment of the caliphate in the new capital city of Baghdad in the reign of the caliph al-Manṣūr (754/5), the Muslim polity turned its back on the Mediterranean world, at least culturally. Syria/Palestine, and especially Jerusalem, which had been an important cultural and religious centre of the burgeoning Islamic culture for almost a century under the Umayyads, became a venerated but neglected provincial backwater in the early 'Abbāsid caliphate, ruled from afar by a succession of appointed *amirs* and governors, visited occasionally by caliphs and trusted generals sent to put down the restless Beduin, but otherwise left to its fate as a pilgrimage centre for Jews, Christians, and Muslims.[5] By the century's end, from 877/8 until 904/5, Jerusalem and Palestine were ruled not from Baghdad at all, but from Egypt under the Ṭulūnids.

It is from the beginning of this period of unrest, from the late eighth century and through much of the ninth century, in sharp contrast to the experience of the previous century, that the only voices from Jerusalem heard in Constantinople and the west are occasional messages coming from the patriarchs. They are sometimes concerned about financial exactions, and the destruction of churches.[6] The record begins with the much discussed

[3] See 'Passio SS XX Martyrum Laurae S Sabae', in *AASS Martii* 3 (Paris, 1865), 166–78.

[4] See M. Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, tr. E. Broido (Cambridge, 1992), 283–312.

[5] See A.A. Duri, 'Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period, 7th-11th Centuries AD', in K.J. Asali, ed., *Jerusalem in History* (Brooklyn NY, 1990), 105–29; and especially A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship, Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts 8 (Leiden, 1995).

[6] See K. Bieberstein, 'Der Gesandtenaustausch zwischen Karl dem Grossen und Hārūn ar-Rašīd und seine Bedeutung für die Kirchen Jerusalems', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 109 (1993), 151–73. The author argues that the destructions usually attributed to the Persians in 614, and to the Muslims at the conquest, were actually carried out during this period, from the 780s to the reign of al-Ma'mūn.

exchanges between Charlemagne (800–14), Hārūn ar-Rashīd, and the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Elias II (796–800) and Thomas (807–21).[7] They are principally concerned with financial support for Jerusalem Christians, with the building and rebuilding of churches, and the maintenance of the local Latin community. There is also the festering controversy over the *filioque* between the Latin monks of the Mount of Olives and the monks of Mar Sabas, which prompted an appeal on the part of Patriarch Thomas to Pope Leo III (795–816).[8] These same concerns, financial exigency and the *filioque*, prompted the mission of Michael Synkellos, the monk Job, and the brothers Theodore and Theophane Graptoi to Constantinople (and Rome, where they never arrived), at the behest of Patriarch Thomas in the year 813.[9] But later in the century the patriarchs can also report the good fortune of the Christians of Jerusalem. Such was the message of Patriarch Theodosius (867–78) in the year 869 to Patriarch Ignatios of Constantinople (847–58, 867–78).[10] And in the year 881 Patriarch Elias III (878–906), while noting the financial disabilities borne by his flock, boasts in his letter of appeal to the bishops of France about a Christian governor in Ramla, and of the permission he had received to renovate damaged buildings.[11]

Letters of appeal and emissaries from the patriarch seeking help in the west are just about all one reliably hears of the church of Jerusalem in the historical sources from the first decades of the ninth century until the military incursions of the Byzantines into the territories of the oriental patriarchs in the second half of the tenth century. Constantinopolitan churchmen did occasionally address missives to the 'oriental patriarchs', and they even pretended to have a letter from the three of them condemning Iconoclasm, said to have come from a synod in Jerusalem in the year 836. But this letter, and the synod, together with the enigmatic *Life of Theodore of Edessa*, which speaks of it, were themselves literary products of Byzantium, and not evidence of any continuing traffic between Jerusalem and Constantinople in the ninth century.[12]

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[7] See M. Borgolte, *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden und mit den Patriarchen von Jerusalem*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 25 (Munich, 1976). See also P.D. King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Lancaster, 1987), 68–9.

[8] See M. Borgolte, 'Papst Leo III., Karl der Grosse und der *Filioque* Streit von Jerusalem', *Byzantina* 10 (1980), 403–27. See also K. Schmid, 'Aachen und Jerusalem: ein Beitrag zur historischen Personenforschung der Karolingerzeit', in K. Hauck, ed., *Das Einhardkreuz* (Göttingen, 1974), 122–42.

[9] See M.B. Cunningham, *The Life of Michael Synkellos: Text, Translation and Commentary*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 1 (Belfast, 1991), 9–13, 142–3.

[10] See Mansi XVI, 25–7.

[11] See L. Delisle, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* 9 (Paris, 1874), 294–6.

[12] See A. Abel, 'La portée apologétique de la "vie" de St Théodore d'Édesse', *BSl* 10 (1949), 229–40; Speck, *Ich bin's nicht*, 449–534.

During this period the 'Abbāsid defence of the frontier between Byzantium and the world of Islam was well organized and sophisticated.[13] It only broke down in the second half of the tenth century, when Islamic military power was unable to stop the incursions into Syria of the emperors Nikephoros Phokas (963–69) and John Tzimiskes (969–76).[14] Thereafter, Antioch and its environs were once more in Byzantine hands, from 969 until the city was taken by the Turks in 1084/85. But it was not until the reign of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) in the eleventh century that one hears of any effective Byzantine power being exercised in the ecclesiastical affairs of Jerusalem. At that time the emperor acceded to requests coming from the Christian inhabitants of the city, by leave of the local *amir*, to build a wall around the Christian quarter of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the Church of the Anastasis, which had been destroyed in 1009 at the order of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi'Amr Allāh (996–1021).[15] One of the emperor's conditions was a voice in the ecclesiastical affairs of Jerusalem.

In the ninth century, when people in Byzantium thought of the world of Islam, their attention was distracted from Syria/Palestine and it was drawn to Baghdad. Constantinople had in fact little to do with Jerusalem in this period, even in ecclesiastical affairs. What happened was that as the local ties with Byzantium faded in this century, and the Arabicization and Islamicization of the conquered territories of the caliphate simultaneously came to term, the distinctive culture of the world of Islam achieved its classical identity. This development, as much as any other, played a significant role in the alienation of the churches of the oriental patriarchates from the churches of Rome and Constantinople; the oriental Christians were inculturated into the Islamic commonwealth.[16] For, as Albert Hourani has so evocatively put it,

> By the tenth century ... men and women in the Near East and the Maghrib lived in a universe which was defined in terms of Islam ... Time was marked by the five daily prayers, the weekly sermon in the mosque, the annual fast in the month of Ramadan and the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the Muslim calendar.[17]

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[13] See J.F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, 'The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands', *Recueil des Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Byzantines* 19 (Belgrade, 1980), 106.

[14] Emperor John Tzimiskes made his way well into Palestine in 975, but he did not gain Jerusalem. See P.E. Walker, 'The "Crusade" of John Tzimisces in the Light of New Arabic Evidence', *Byz* 47 (1977), 301–27.

[15] The Church of the Anastasis had actually been burned earlier, around the year 966, by the local Governor of Jerusalem in a dispute with the patriarch. See I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, 'Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Sa'īd d'Antioche, continuateur de Sa'īd-ibn-Bitriq', in *PO* 18/1 (Paris, 1924), 708; M. Canard, 'La destruction de l'église de la resurrection', *Byz* 35 (1965), 16–43.

[16] See G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993).

[17] A. Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (New York, 1992), 54–7.

Christians living in this world of Islam accommodated themselves to its habits, and chief among them was the use of the Arabic language. Those who were loyal to the orthodoxy of Byzantium, for whom Greek was the *lingua sacra*, were then the first to adopt Arabic as an ecclesiastical language.

Arabic culture in the monasteries of ninth-century Palestine

The Arabic-speaking monks of the Judean desert monasteries, and particularly those of Mar Sabas monastery, found themselves in the ninth century at the heart of an emerging, Arabic-speaking, ecclesiastical network that stretched from the territories of the patriarchate of Antioch southwards through the Sinai and into Egypt, with Jerusalem as the constant point of spiritual and intellectual reference. From these beginnings there grew the vast literary heritage of the 'Melkites' in Arabic,[18] which in subsequent centuries would come to express every aspect of their ecclesiastical life in the world of Islam.[19]

So distinctive is the Arabic idiom employed in the sixty-some Palestinian texts of the ninth and tenth centuries that one scholar has recently suggested that in the ensemble the whole archive of them furnishes enough evidence to warrant the conclusion that it amounts to a literary *koiné*, which served as an Arabic *lingua franca* for the 'Melkite' community throughout the oriental patriarchates.[20] This *lingua franca* then became the cultural carrier of the distinctive 'Melkite' identity among the Christians living in the world of Islam. It had at its core an allegiance to the orthodoxy of the 'six councils' as they had been accepted in the late seventh century in the Judean desert monasteries of Jerusalem,[21] the doctrines of which were systematized and put forward in summary fashion by the great eighth-century teacher from Mar Sabas monastery, John of Damascus.[22] One must remember in this connection that in Syria/Palestine in the time before the Crusades there is no evidence of influence from the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*,

[18] See S.H. Griffith, 'Melkites in the Umayyad Era: the Making of a Christian Identity in the World of Islam', to be published in the proceedings of the fourth workshop of the Late Antiquity and Early Islam Project, 'Patterns of Communal Identity in the Late Antique and Early Islamic Near East', London, The Wellcome Trust, 5–7 May 1994.

[19] See J. Nasrallah, *Histoire d'un mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle: contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*, 5 vols to date (Louvain, 1979–).

[20] See J. Blau, 'A Melkite Arabic Literary Lingua Franca from the Second Half of the First Millennium', *BSOAS* 57 (1994), 14–16.

[21] In due course 'Melkites' included the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Nicaea II in 787, among the councils of orthodoxy, but the practice of affirming the 'six councils' lasted until modern times. Among the 'Melkite' collections of canons in Arabic from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, only seven of the twenty-one MSS mention the seventh council. See J.B. Darblade, *La collection canonique arabe des Melkites (XIIIe–XVIIe siècles)* (Harissa, 1946), 154–5.

[22] See B. Studer, *Die theologische Arbeitsweise des Johannes von Damaskus*, Studia Patristica et Byzantina 2 (Ettal, 1956). See also Griffith, 'Melkites in the Umayyad Era'.

or any trace of a sense of an orthodoxy restored in 843, as was the case in Constantinople.[23] Rather, in ninth-century Palestine the energies of the 'orthodox' were absorbed in the effort to meet the religious challenge of Islam.

Answering the call from the minaret

In addition to translating the classics of the Byzantine patristic and liturgical heritage into Arabic, the monks of Palestine were also busy composing original theological tracts in the language of the world of Islam. In these works their efforts were to put forward their theology in an Arabic idiom that would answer to the religious concerns of others, notably the Muslim *mutakallimūn*. In the process, these 'Melkite' writers developed some culturally specific ways of presenting Christian teaching, in response to the Islamic critique. We may the most succinctly suggest the differences between a 'Melkite' and a 'Byzantine' Christian response to the new situation by considering very briefly the profile in controversy of an important thinker and writer of the ninth century, Theodore Abū Qurrah, who lived in the world of Islam and wrote in Arabic.

Theodore Abū Qurrah (c. 755–c. 830) is the first Christian writer in Arabic whose name we know. He was a native of Edessa in Syria who came as a young man to the monastery of Mar Sabas in Palestine to undertake the life of a monk. In due course he was consecrated bishop of Ḥarrān back in his native Syria, but he was soon removed from this office by Patriarch Theodoret of Antioch between the years 785 and 799, probably as a result of a disagreement over how to deal with the disputed issue of icon veneration. During the fourteen years of his retirement from the see of Ḥarrān, Abū Qurrah was back in the monastery of Mar Sabas, where he began his literary career in Arabic as a controversialist who argued on behalf of the veracity of Christianity as the religion in which God wished to be worshipped, and in defence of the orthodoxy of the 'six councils', as he and his fellow 'Melkites' expressed their own Christian allegiance. In 799, with the accession of Patriarch Job (799–843) to the see of Antioch, Abū Qurrah himself regained the see of Ḥarrān. He continued his career as a controversialist in Arabic, sometimes as an itinerant apologist, and he associated himself closely with the theological agenda of Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem (807–21), a fellow monk of Mar Sabas, and yet another Sabaïte monk, Michael Synkellos (761–846), who served the patriarch from 811 to 812 or 813, when he was dispatched to Constantinople, never to return. Abū Qurrah was one of the early translators of the works of Aristotle into Arabic, and he was known and heard in the world of the Muslim *mutakallimūn*, at least one of whom took the trouble to write a refutation

[23] See J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), 62–5.

of his arguments. Toward the end of his life, in the year 829, Abū Qurrah was summoned to the *majlis* of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–33), then in Ḥarrān, to engage in a debate about religion in the caliph's presence with a number of Muslim interlocutors. The report of this event became the occasion for the composition years later of one of the most popular Arab Christian apologetical/polemical tracts in medieval times. In the end Abū Qurrah probably retired from his see and returned to Mar Sabas monastery, where he died around the year 830.[24]

Theodore Abū Qurrah left behind a considerable literary legacy. Some eighteen works from his pen survive in Arabic;[25] there are forty-three texts attributed to him in Greek,[26] and he himself says that he composed thirty tracts in Syriac.[27] Unfortunately, none of Abū Qurrah's Syriac texts are known to have survived to modern times. As for the Greek works, the question that immediately arises has to do with authorship: did he himself write them in Greek? It is a difficult question to answer at this stage in the study of Abū Qurrah's works. Suffice it now to say that the present writer, for reasons he has advanced elsewhere,[28] thinks that Abū Qurrah wrote in Arabic, that the few longer pieces attributed to him in Greek were translated into that language by others,[29] and that many of the shorter pieces, especially those having to do with arguments with Muslims, are in the order of 'sayings' of Abū Qurrah reported in Greek,[30] probably in Constantinople, by emigrés who may have heard him in debate with Muslims back in the

[24] See S.H. Griffith, *Theodore Abū Qurrah: the Intellectual Profile of an Arab Christian Writer of the First Abbasid Century*, Annual Lecture of the Dr Irene Halmos Chair of Arabic Literature, 1992 (Tel Aviv, 1992); *idem*, 'Reflections on the Biography of Theodore Abū Qurrah', *Parole de l'Orient* 18 (1993), 143–70.

[25] See Griffith, *Theodore Abū Qurra: the Intellectual Profile*, 9–13. To the list add John C. Lamoreaux, 'An Unedited Tract against the Armenians by Theodore Abū Qurrah', *Mus* 105 (1992), 327–41.

[26] Works in Greek attributed to Abū Qurrah are collected in *PG* 97: 1445–1602, with the exception of one which is printed among the works of John of Damascus in *PG* 94: 1595–8. Other, unpublished texts in Greek are also attributed to Abū Qurrah. See Griffith, *Theodore Abū Qurrah: the Intellectual Profile*, 44–5 note 13. A new, critical edition of seventeen of the Greek texts attributed to Abū Qurrah, several of them hitherto unpublished, has recently appeared under the title *Opuscula Islamica* in R. Glei and A.T. Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra, Schriften zum Islam*, Corpus Islamo-Christianum 3 (Würzburg, 1995).

[27] See Abū Qurrah's remark toward the beginning of his treatise *On the Death of the Messiah*, where he mentions the 'thirty tracts (*maymaran*) we composed in Syriac'. C. Bacha, *Les oeuvres arabes de Theodore Aboucara* (Beirut, 1904), 60.

[28] See Griffith, *Theodore Abū Qurrah: the Intellectual Profile*, 7–8.

[29] This was the case with a letter to the Armenians, *opusculum IV*, which Abū Qurrah wrote in Arabic at the behest of Patriarch Thomas, and which Michael Synkellos then translated into Greek. See *PG* 97: 1504D. This suggests at the very least that Arabic was Abū Qurrah's preferred language.

[30] This certainly seems to have been the case with *opusculum IX* (*PG* 97: 1529), the Arabic original for which has come to light. See S.H. Griffith, 'Some Unpublished Arabic Sayings Attributed to Theodore Abū Qurrah', *Mus* 92 (1979), 29–35.

homeland. A case in point is provided by the newly published introduction to Abū Qurrah's *opusculum* XVIII from an eleventh-century manuscript in which the reporter, one John the Deacon, speaks in the first person and then recounts in Greek Abū Qurrah's debate with a Muslim, surely conducted in Arabic, when the monk/bishop was called to take part in a controversy between Muslims and Christians in Ashdod, a town in Palestine on the Mediterranean seacoast, not far north of Gaza and Ascalon, because the local Christians, having been stumped in debate, called on him for help.[31]

Abū Qurrah's principal theological concerns were twofold: firstly, within his 'Melkite' community he was interested in asserting the orthodoxy of 'the six councils' against the other Christian denominations, particularly the 'Jacobites', and especially the Armenians;[32] secondly, he addressed the intellectual concerns of the contemporary Muslim *mutakallimīn*, presenting the major articles of Christian faith in the idiom and style of the culturally dominant Arabic religious vocabulary, and arguing the merits of Christianity over Islam. It is in this latter enterprise in particular that one can see how in Arabic the Christian apologist accepts the frame of reference of the burgeoning Islamic religious sciences as the newly appropriate one for the articulation in Arabic of the Christian doctrines of the trinity and the incarnation. Specifically this involves the defence of the doctrine of the Trinity in the context of the Islamic discussion of the ontological significance of the divine attributes, or the 'beautiful names (*al-asmā al-ḥusnā*) of God', and arguing on behalf of the doctrine of the Incarnation in the context of the *Qur'ān*'s prophetology, putting an emphasis on Christ's miracles and the fulfilment of earlier prophecies.[33] In due course this model became the standard one for the statement of Christian faith in the world of Islam. The doctrines were not new, but the intellectual horizon for their presentation in Arabic was very different from that which had been traditional, or that which obtained beyond the borders of the caliphate.

In the works of Abū Qurrah, Islam, Muḥammad, and the *Qur'ān* found not acceptance but a measure of respect, in terms which even allowed the

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[31] See Glei and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, 86–8.

[32] Abū Qurrah's Armenian connections were numerous. He went there to debate with Nonnus of Nisibis around the year 813/4: see A. Van Roey, *Nonnus de Nisibe, traité apologétique, étude, texte et traduction*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 21 (Louvain, 1948). He wrote a tract in Arabic against the Armenians – see Lamoreux, 'An Unedited Tract against the Armenians' – and he wrote a letter to the Armenians about doctrinal matters on behalf of Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem. In Jerusalem in the early ninth century there seems to have been a campaign to enlist the Armenians among the Chalcedonians and some Armenians there were co-operating with it: see. S.P. Cowe, 'An Armenian Job Fragment from Sinai and its Implications', *Oriens Christianus* 76 (1992), 123–57.

[33] See S.H. Griffith, 'Faith and Reason in Christian Kalām: Theodore Abū Qurrah on Discerning the True Religion', in S.K. Samir and J.S. Nielsen, eds, *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750–1258)*, Studies in the History of Religions 63 (Leiden, 1994), 1–43.

Christian apologists to appeal to them, albeit in an eccentric way, in the construction of their own arguments in defense of the Christian faith.[34] For example, while in no way accepting the *Qur'ān* as revelation, and even while demeaning its spiritual character, Christian apologists in Arabic did not hesitate to appeal to its testimony on behalf of Christians and the veracity of their doctrines.[35] While one may see something of the making of the best of a bad situation in this practice, the fact is that the expression of Christian apology in such terms inevitably, and over time, affected the Christian self-consciousness and set it at variance with the Byzantine style of professing the orthodox faith, as well as the Byzantine habit of strong anti-Islamic polemic.

Several issues in Abū Qurrah's thought call for special mention in the context of the relationship between Constantinople and Jerusalem in the ninth century. One is the issue of icon veneration, and the other is Abū Qurrah's esteem for the see of Rome. Abū Qurrah wrote a tract in Arabic on icon veneration[36] which, in terms of the acuity of its arguments, belongs in the class of John of Damascus' *Orations against the Calumniators of the Icons*,[37] to which it owes a considerable debt. But the important point to make is that Abū Qurrah's tract has nothing to do with Iconoclasm in Byzantium.

From what Abū Qurrah wrote it is clear that the icon problem which the 'Melkites' faced in the caliphate had to do with the public veneration of the symbols of Christianity in an Islamic environment in which the caliph's policies since the time of 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) had been to claim the public space for Islam.[38] Moreover, the icons and the cross actually proclaimed what the *Qur'ān* denies in regard to Jesus, son of Mary, and his mother.[39] By the first decade of the ninth century, when Abū Qurrah wrote his tract, there was already a second generation of Christians who refused to perform the public veneration of the icons for fear of the reproach of 'anti-Christians, especially ones claiming to have in hand a scripture sent down

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[34] See S.H. Griffith, 'The View of Islam from the Monasteries of Palestine in the Early Abbasid Period: Theodore Abū Qurrah and the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7 (1996), 9–28.

[35] See, e.g., Paul of Antioch's 'Lettre aux Musulmans', in P. Khoury, *Paul d'Antioch, évêque melkite de Sidon (XIIe s.)* (Beirut, 1964), 169-87 (French), 59–83 (Arabic).

[36] See the Arabic text published in I. Dick, *Théodore Abūqurra, traité du culte des icones*, Patrimoine arabe chrétien 10 (Jounieh, 1986). See also S.H. Griffith, 'Theodore Abū Qurrah's Arabic Tract on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985), 53–73.

[37] See B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* 3: *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres* (Berlin, 1973).

[38] See S. H. Griffith, 'Images, Islam and Christian Icons', in P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, eds, *La Syrie, de Byzance à l'Islam, VIIe-VIIIe siècles* (Damascus, 1992), 121–38.

[39] See G.R.D. King, 'Islam, Iconoclasm, and the Declaration of Doctrine', *BSOAS* 48 (1985), 267–77.

from God, . . . imputing to them the worship of idols, and the transgression of what God commanded in the Torah and the prophets.'[40]

Among Christian leaders of the time, there is really no evidence in Syria/Palestine of a Byzantine iconoclastic attitude, but there do seem to have been disagreements over church policy in the face of a strong Islamic reaction to the public veneration of icons. Some leaders may well have been in favour of down-playing the traditional devotions for the sake of peace. This may even have been the attitude of Patriarch Theodoret of Antioch (c.785–99), during whose reign Abū Qurrah was removed as bishop of Ḥarrān, perhaps as a result of a disagreement over just this matter.[41] But neither silence in monastic sources, like the *Life of Stephen the Sabaite*, where there would be no public icon problem, nor an enthusiasm for eucharist and cross in the works of a writer like Kosmas the Hymnographer can on its own suggest the currency of any Byzantine-style feeling for Iconoclasm in Palestine.[42] After all, in the world of Islam, unlike that of Byzantium, both cross and icon go together as the public symbols which elicit the reproaches of Muslims and Jews. And the most likely explanation for the defacement of the figures of living beings in Christian churches in the late eighth century in Palestine and Transjordan is that Muslims sometimes worshipped in Christian churches at the time,[43] and this circumstance went a long way toward explaining the rise of local Christian iconophobia, rather than any concern for the policies of the synod of Hiereia (754).[44]

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[40] Dick, *Traité du culte des icones*, 88.

[41] See Griffith, *Theodore Abū Qurrah: the Intellectual Profile*, 30–34.

[42] *Pace* Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople', 190–94; A. Kazhdan, 'Kosmas of Jerusalem 2: Can We Speak of his Political Views?', *Mus* 103 (1990), 342–6.

[43] See S. Bashear, 'Qibla Musharriqa and Early Muslim Prayer in Churches', *The Muslim World* 81 (1991), 267–82. An incident recorded in the *Annals* of Eutychius of Alexandria also calls attention to the problem of prayer by Muslims in churches in which there are figural mosaics. According to the report, the caliph 'Umar ibn al-Ḫaṭṭāb (634–44), after his famous visit to Jerusalem, went to see Bethlehem, where, the text says, 'when it was time for prayer, he prayed inside the church, by the southern apse (*'inda l-ḥaniyyah al-qibliyyah*), and the whole apse was embellished with mosaics. And 'Umar wrote out an official statement (*sijillan*) for the patriarch that none of the Muslims were to pray in this place, except one man after another, nor was there to be any gathering in it for prayer, nor was the call to prayer to be made in it, nor was anything in it to be changed. But in our time the Muslims have contravened the decree of 'Umar ibn al-Ḫaṭṭāb. They have pulled out the mosaics from the apse and they have put in it what inscriptions they wanted. They gather in it for prayer and they issue the *adhān*': eds L. Cheikho *et al.*, *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, *CSCO* 51 (Beirut, 1909), 18.

[44] *Pace* Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople', 193 note 77. See M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (Amman, 1993), 41–2, where the author writes, 'In what is now Jordan, it appears that in most churches, mosaics with figurative motifs were deliberately disfigured'. See the full discussion in R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: a Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton, 1995).

Along with a strong position in favour of the veneration of the icons in the Islamic milieu, precisely because of the testimonial value of the practice in this context,[45] Abū Qurrah also expressed a surprisingly strong view of the role of the Bishop of Rome in his conciliar theology. He put forth his ideas in an Arabic tract called *On the Law, the Gospel, and Orthodoxy*.[46] In it he argued that the doctrines of the first six ecumenical councils are the measure of orthodox Christian thought, answering to the claims of the law, the prophets, and the Gospel. The adversaries in Abū Qurrah's treatise are principally the 'Jacobites', 'Nestorians', and 'Monothelites', the other Christian denominations in the world of Islam. In this world, the confrontation of these denominations with one another, often in Jerusalem, took on a special poignancy, as they struggled with one another for the favour of the Muslims, both in the civil arena and in the effort to commend their own beliefs to the Muslims as the true Christianity. Against this background, Abū Qurrah's purpose in the treatise *On Orthodoxy* was to argue that the Christian Bible is the only credible warrant of religious faith, and that the church council is the only biblically warranted method of clarifying what the Bible truly means when doctrinal difficulties arise.

Against the claim by Muslim polemicists that the church councils answered only to the Byzantine civil authority, Abū Qurrah argued that in fact they were under the jurisdiction of religious authority, again by biblical warrant. This biblical warrant he found in Acts 15, in the account of the so-called 'council of Jerusalem' in apostolic times. From his analysis of this account Abū Qurrah concluded that 'St Peter is the foundation of the church, charged with the care of the flock; no man's faith shall fail whose faith is ever his.'[47] He goes on to say that St Peter's successors in Rome continue to exercise his headship, and the successors of the apostles continue to meet in council to determine the course of ecclesiastical affairs, and to be subject to the affirmation of St Peter's successors. Abū Qurrah claims that when each of the six councils gathered together, it was 'by order of the bishop of Rome (*bi 'amr usquf rūmiyyah*),'[48] to conduct an investigation into the matter referred to it. So it is, according to Abū Qurrah, that the Holy Spirit made the institution of the councils a perpetual substitute for the gathering of the apostles in the church, just as Moses made the gatherings of Levites and judges a continuing institution in Israel after his time. And

[45] See Dick, *Traité du culte des icones*, 216–18, where Abū Qurrah explains the testimony value of a vivid icon of Christ crucified.

[46] See the edition and French translation in C. Bacha, *Un traité des oeuvres arabes de Théodore Abou-Kurra, éveque de Haran* (Tripoli, 1905). A German translation is available in Georg Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abû Qurra, Bischofs von Ḥarrân (c. 740–820)*, Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte 10 (Paderborn, 1910), 88–128.

[47] Bacha, *Un traité des oeuvres arabes*, 23.

[48] Bacha, *Un traité des oeuvres arabes*, 23, 24, 25, 26.

within the parameters of the institution of the councils, the bishop of Rome, as the successor of St Peter, administers the conciliar deliberations and confirms the orthodoxy of his fellows in the episcopate. In another treatise, *On the Death of Christ*, Abū Qurrah stated his position in summary fashion. He says,

> By the grace of the Holy Spirit, in every circumstance our recourse is simply to build ourselves on the foundation of St Peter, who administered the six holy councils which were convened by the order of the bishop of Rome, the capital of the world. Whoever is established on her throne is the one entrusted by Christ to turn to the people of the church with his ecumenical council, and confirm them, as we have established in a number of other places.[49]

One must consider Abū Qurrah's position in the context of the see of Jerusalem around the year 800, with its historical prolegomena and its current dealings.[50] And in the first place one must recall the earlier alarm among the monks of the Holy Land at Constantinople's support of monothelitism and monenergism in the seventh century, a phenomenon that fostered on their part a turn to Rome for the support of orthodoxy, in league with St Maximos the Confessor (580–662), himself perhaps a native of Palestine.[51] In Abū Qurrah's day his own 'Jacobite' adversaries were still derisively calling him a 'Maximianist' because of his rejection of monothelitism.[52] This rejection, plus the acceptance of the teaching of the council of Constantinople III (680/1) became an important element in the growth and development of the 'Melkite' denominational identity in the eighth and ninth centuries, of which Theodore Abū Qurrah was such an important part.[53] More proximately, in the first quarter of the ninth century, when patriarch Thomas was in correspondence with Charlemagne and was also promoting the orthodoxy of the 'six councils' among the Armenians, Abū Qurrah put into the letter to the Armenians which he wrote for the patriarch, and which Michael Synkellos translated into Greek, the following opening statement:

> Christ, our Lord and God, said to Peter, the κορυφαίος of the apostles, 'You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell will not prevail against you (σε- *sic*)' (Mt. 16:18).[54]

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[49] Bacha, *Les oeuvres arabes*, 70.

[50] See S.H. Griffith, 'Muslims and Church Councils: the Apology of Theodore Abū Qurrah', in E.A. Livingstone, ed., *Studia Patristica* 25 (1993), 270–99.

[51] See J.-M. Garrigues, 'Le sens de la primauté romaine chez saint Maxime le Confesseur', *Istina* 21 (1976), 6–24; S.P. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor', *AnBoll* 91 (1973), 299–346.

[52] See G. Graf, *Die Schriften des Jacobiten Ḥabīb ibn Ḥidma Abū Rā'ita*, *CSCO* 130 (Louvain, 1951), 79.

[53] See Griffith, 'Melkites in the Umayyad Era'.

[54] *PG* 97: 1504D–1505A.

In the text of the letter, when discussing the confession of the council of Chalcedon, Abū Qurrah wrote, 'the confession is the very one of Peter, against which the gates of hell will not prevail.'[55]

Similarly, John the Deacon in his introduction to Abū Qurrah's Greek *Opuscula Islamica*, refers to the necessity in the refutation of heretics for building one's faith 'on the rock of the faith of the κορυφαίος of the apostles, Peter.'[56] Clearly, Patriarch Thomas, Abū Qurrah, and his disciple John the Deacon, all put a great emphasis on the importance of the role of Peter, 'the κορυφαίος of the apostles'[57] in doctrinal decisions. This emphasis recalls Patriarch Thomas' dealings with Pope Leo III (795–816) in the matter of the controversy over the *filioque* in Jerusalem in 808, when Latin monks from the Mount of Olives, newly returned from the court of Charlemagne, inserted the clause in the creed, to the consternation of the monks of Mar Sabas. This concern was allegedly one of the reasons for the dispatch of Michael Synkellos to Constantinople and Rome in 812/3.[58] This Rome connection in the see of Jerusalem in the early ninth century was then motivated by doctrinal concerns and does not seem to have been prompted by any choice on Patriarch Thomas' part for Rome over Constantinople.[59] Rather, historical opportunity, in the form of embassies to and from Charlemagne, along with the relative isolation from Constantinople at the time, together with the see of Jerusalem's traditional alignment with Rome in the earlier Christological controversies, were all circumstances which in Abū Qurrah's day made it reasonable to put an emphasis on the Bishop of Rome's role in doctrinal decision making. Abū Qurrah himself enhanced this role in his defence of Christian conciliar teachings, in an effort to deflect the challenges raised by Muslim polemicists to the effect that the objectionable dogmas of the Christians were not to be found in the Bible but were the inventions of church councils called by the emperors of Byzantium.[60] At no point before the late eleventh century does one find in the works of the 'Melkites' any concern with the tensions between the sees of Rome and Constantinople that were the topics of so much discussion in the Latin- and Greek-speaking worlds already in the ninth century.[61]

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[55] *PG* 97: 1512D.

[56] Glei and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, 86.

[57] On this title see D.T. Strotmann, 'Les coryphées Pierre et Paul et les autres apôtres', *Irénicon* 36 (1963), 164–76.

[58] See Cunningham, *The Life of Michael Synkellos*, 54–9; Borgolte, 'Papst Leo III., Karl der Grosse und der *Filioque* Streit'.

[59] *Pace* Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople', 210–11 note 195.

[60] See Griffith, 'Muslims and Church Councils'.

[61] See V. Grumel, 'Jérusalem entre Rome et Byzance: une lettre inconnue du patriarche de Constantinople Nicolas III à son collegue de Jérusalem (vers 1089)', *EO* 38 (1939), 104–17; Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire* 3,1, 235–9.

In the first third of the ninth century, Theodore Abū Qurrah thus stood as the virtual icon of all that both united and divided Jerusalem and Constantinople, from the time of the 'Abbāsid revolution in the world of Islam, to the irruption of the crusaders into the Holy Land at the end of the eleventh century.

15. The road to Baghdad in the thought-world of ninth-century Byzantium*

Paul Magdalino

This paper discusses the meagre evidence for the contacts of five ninth-century Byzantine intellectuals with the 'Abbāsid caliphate, and offers some reflections on the cultural significance of this evidence. The association of learned men with a journey to Baghdad, or to be exact with the idea of a journey to the residence of the caliph, whether this happened to be at Baghdad, Damascus or al-Samarra, was a phenomenon specific to the period. In general, before the thirteenth century, leading Byzantine men of learning did not travel, or did not publicize their travels, beyond the empire's borders. But between 829 and 907, four well-known intellectual figures – John the Grammarian, St Constantine/Cyril, Photios and Leo Choirosphaktes – travelled to the 'Abbāsid court, while a fifth, Leo the Mathematician, received an invitation to go there. The careers of these men span the ninth century, and their names figure prominently in the story of 'the first Byzantine humanism'. The theme of their reported contacts with the 'Abbāsid court has not been looked at before, and thus provides a new angle on the Byzantine intellectual achievement of the period. As Paul Speck has pointed out, to get the measure of the Byzantine 'renaissance' of the ninth century, we should not view it in isolation, but must consider the phenomenon in the context of the cultural dynamism of the great neighbouring powers, the 'Abbāsid empire and the Carolingian empire, both

* It was not until after this volume had gone to press that I encountered a publication (P.L. Butzer and D. Lohrmann eds, *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times* [Basel, 1993]) containing several articles relevant to this paper; see in particular A. Tihon, 'L'astronomie à Byzance à l'époque iconoclaste (VIIIe–IXe siècles)', 181–203, and V. Katsaros, 'Leo the Mathematician, His Literary Presence in Byzantium during the Ninth Century', 383–98. I intend to return to the subject in a forthcoming monograph, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues: la science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance (VIIe–XIIe siècles)*, to be published in the series Réalités byzantines.

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of which were seeking, around 800, to appropriate the legacy of the ancient world.[1]

Compared with Byzantium, both powers were new and unstable, and their claim to the ancient heritage was less authentic. But what they lacked in authenticity they more than made up in discovery and innovation. Moreover, the vast Islamic empire of the 'Abbāsids was not only materially wealthier and more urbanized than Byzantium; it also, by virtue of its position and extent, blended the wisdom of the Greeks with that of Persia and India. How did this impressive cultural achievement impinge on the consciousness of learned Byzantines? Hardly at all, if one is to judge from their almost total lack of comment, and their exclusive reference to their own past. However, as I have discovered in my work on the twelfth century, the period when Byzantium had to come to terms with the material and cultural expansion of western Europe,[2] one cannot judge the impact of a foreign culture on Byzantine intellectual life simply by a literal reading of explicit comments in Byzantine sources. One has to recognize that rejection, whether expressed through adverse comment or through silence, may be a rhetorical attitude, which does not preclude reception and may actually be used to disguise it. The important thing is to look carefully at evidence for contacts. The fact that such evidence actually exists for the ninth century is remarkable in itself.

We begin with John the Grammarian's embassy to the Caliph al-Mamun in 829. John the Grammarian was the brains behind the ninth-century revival of Iconoclasm; as such he was richly abused in subsequent iconophile literature and art. Although he did not become patriarch until 838, he was a respected adviser of the emperors Leo V, Michael II and Theophilos, especially the last-named, whose tutor he had been. It was Theophilos who, soon after his accession, appointed John *synkellos* of the Great Church, that is patriarch-in-waiting, and sent him on the embassy to Baghdad.[3]

The fullest and most colourful account of this embassy is that given by Theophanes Continuatus.[4] According to this author, Theophilos' purpose in sending the legation was, 'following an ancient tradition', to announce his accession to the Muslims and to impress them as a formidable ruler. He

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[1] P. Speck, 'Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance', *Varia* 1, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 4 (Bonn, 1984), 175-210; idem, 'Weitere Überlegungen und Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance', *Varia* 2, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 6 (Bonn, 1987), 253–83. See also Speck's chapter earlier in this volume.

[2] See P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–80* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. chapter 5; P. Magdalino and R. Macrides, 'The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism', in P. Magdalino, ed., *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), 117–56.

[3] See in general W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), 208ff, 263–5, 306–13.

[4] Theoph.Cont., 95–9.

chose John, his former teacher, for the mission because, besides being his partner in heresy (i.e. Iconoclasm) and a skilled debater, he was full of πολιτικὴ εὐταξία, which we might render as 'political sophistication' or even as 'civil etiquette', i.e. ceremonial.

John was amply provided with rich gifts for the caliph and with large funds to distribute in largesse, in order to create the impression that there was a lot more where that came from. In Baghdad, John cut an impressive figure, both because of his native wit and eloquence and because of his outward wealth and dignity. From the moment he set foot in 'barbarian' territory, he dazzled everyone by his generous gifts to the caliph's emissaries and other visitors. To all who called on him, whatever their business, he would give a silver vessel filled with gold. The emperor had provided him with two solid gold washbasins, studded with precious gems, and he used these to pull his best publicity stunt. At a banquet where he was being served with one of these basins, he ordered his servants to make it disappear; then, when the guests were thoroughly distressed, he calmly produced the other one, saying, 'Let this too go to waste!'

The caliph, not to be outdone, showered him with gifts and offered to release one hundred Byzantine prisoners-of-war. John politely declined the offer, saying he would negotiate their release in exchange for Saracen captives at a later date. Al-Mamun, duly impressed, treated John with great familiarity, took him on a tour of his treasuries and palaces, and gave him a magnificent send-off. John reported back to Theophilos, and persuaded him to build a palace on the Saracen model. The emperor commissioned Patrikes the *patrikios* to build him a palace at Bryas according to John's detailed specifications. The building was an exact replica of a Saracen palace apart from the addition of a tri-conch church dedicated to the archangel Michael and two female martyrs.[5]

Although most modern scholars accept the basic historicity of this embassy, it has been shown that Theophanes Continuatus' account of it leaves much to be desired.[6] Most seriously, the narrative fails to connect John's mission with its ulterior purpose, which is revealed by the much more succinct and reliable historiographical tradition of the Logothete chronicle.[7] According to all the published versions of this chronicle, John the Grammarian went to Baghdad at his own suggestion in order to persuade

[5] On the palace see Alessandra Ricci's chapter earlier in this volume.

[6] J. Rosser, 'John the Grammarian's Embassy to Baghdad and the Recall of Manuel', *BSl* 37 (1976), 168–71; Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 267–8 and note 371.

[7] For the different published versions of the text, see Pseudo-Symeon: ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 632–3; 796–7 (Continuator of George the Monk) and Leo Grammaticus: ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), 219. See also Paul Speck's chapter earlier in this volumne; however, on the general reliability of the chronicle, I follow W. Treadgold, 'The Chronological Accuracy of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813–45', *DOP* 33 (1979), 159–97, esp. 178ff.

a very important defector, the Armenian general Manuel, to return home, and his extraordinary largesse was meant to facilitate access to Manuel. Theophanes Continuatus does mention the mission to recall Manuel, but he treats it as a separate and later episode.[8] It is likely that he was confused by knowledge of a Byzantine embassy, reported by al-Ṭabāri, which went to the Caliph at Damascus in 831 specifically to negotiate the release of prisoners. This is presumably why he represents John as stating his intention to deal with the business of prisoners on another occasion. His narrative thus, incidentally, lends support to the identification of John the Grammarian as the Byzantine ambassador in 831, a point to which we shall return.[9]

But the likelihood that our author has bifurcated in good faith does not alter the fact that in so doing he has transformed a prosaic but specific event that makes good political sense into a timeless stereotype of diplomatic folklore. On the Arab side, for example, the Caliph al-Mamun was said to have instructed his advisers to send a gift to the Byzantine emperor, no doubt Theophilos, one hundred times more precious than his, so that the emperor might know the power of Islam and God's favour to the Muslims.[10] When Archbishop Arnulf of Milan went to Constantinople in 1001 to negotiate the hand of an imperial bride for his master, the western emperor Otto III, he too is said to have come well provided with money for conspicuous consumption. In the event he used it to put expensive trappings, including golden horseshoes, on his ambassadorial horse. Predictably, his arrival at the palace created quite a stir, 'for', as the chronicler, Landulf of Milan, points out, 'Arnulfus did this for the honour of the Roman empire, the excellence and magnificence of King Otto and all Italy'.[11]

Other comparable tales were told of western visitors to Byzantium.[12] Of course, the fact that such tales are not common in Byzantine literature gives a certain interest to the occurrence of the motif in Theophanes Continuatus, for it suggests that the superior wealth of the 'Abbāsid court provoked the kind of competitive reaction among the Byzantines that they normally provoked among their country cousins in western Europe. Read as an expression of an inverted inferiority complex – a reading confirmed by the concluding reference to the Arabic model for the palace of Bryas –

[8] Theoph.Cont., 118–21.

[9] *The History of al-Tabari* 32: ed. E. Yar-Shater, tr. C.E. Bosworth (Albany NY, 1987), 195. The identification was proposed by M. Canard in A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* 1, rev. edn (Brussels, 1968), 289 note 1.

[10] Text cited by N. El Cheikh, 'Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs', Ph.D. thesis (Harvard University, 1992), 186.

[11] *MGH Scriptores* 8 (Berlin, 1846), 55–6.

[12] See, for example, the account of Henry the Lion's visit to Manuel I by Arnold of Lübeck: *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover, 1868), 18–9, 30. The tale of the golden horseshoes is also told of Sigurd of Norway's vist to Alexios I: Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla* 13, 12: tr. S. Laing, rev. P. Foote (London, 1961), 284.

the story of John the Grammarian's embassy to Baghdad does have something to tell us about the cultural impact of the 'Abbāsid court on the Byzantine 'renaissance'. But what it tells us is mediated through the literary perception, and the literary construction, of the ninth century by the age of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, when Theophanes Continuatus, whoever he was, was writing.

A more extreme case of literary construction, not to say fabrication, can be seen in the evidence for the part played by the road to Baghdad in the career of Leo the Mathematician. Once again Theophanes Continuatus gives us the longer and juicier version of the story.[13] Leo taught in Constantinople, obscure and unrecognized, until one of his pupils was taken prisoner by the Arabs and placed in the service of one of their notables. The caliph at the time was al-Mamun, who busied himself with Hellenic learning and was particularly keen on geometry. Hearing this, the young slave asked to be allowed to sit in on one of the caliph's seminars with his mathematicians. The caliph, like a good pedagogue, naturally said yes, and quizzed the youth rather sceptically, asserting that his own teachers were the best under the sun. However, when the youth had heard them expound the basics of Euclidean geometry, he criticized the superficiality of their learning, and proceeded to enlighten them in a long lecture. In amazement, they asked how many scholars like him were to be found in Byzantium. He replied that he was one of many pupils; when asked about his teacher, he praised Leo as a truly virtuous man living a humble life of devotion to scholarship. The caliph forthwith wrote a letter inviting Leo to his court and promising him rich rewards. He entrusted the letter to the pupil, promising him rewards, including his freedom, if he could persuade Leo to come.

Back in Constantinople, after an emotional reunion between teacher and pupil, Leo prudently showed the letter of invitation to Theoktistos, the logothete of the drome, who passed it on to Theophilos. The emperor summoned Leo and paid him a fat salary to teach publicly at the church of the Forty Martyrs. The caliph, realizing that Leo was not coming, sent him another letter full of geometrical and astronomical problems. Leo replied, giving all the correct solutions, and throwing in, for good measure, some extra astrological forecasts. Now beside himself with excitement, the caliph wrote to the emperor, saying that he would love to come to Constantinople and study with Leo, but he had responsibilities; would Theophilos therefore please send Leo over as a favour to a friend and al-Mamun would make it worth his while, with twenty hundredweight of gold and a treaty of perpetual peace. But even at this price, Theophilos would not be moved, replying that 'it is senseless to give one's most precious possession to others, and to make available to the gentiles that true

[13] Theoph.Cont., 185–92.

knowledge for which the Roman people is admired and honoured by all'. The emperor was, however, moved to give Leo an even better job, and ordered the patriarch John (the Grammarian), whose kinsman Leo was, to ordain the latter Metropolitan of Thessalonike.

The shorter, chronicle version of the story contains the same basic elements: a pupil of Leo's falls into the caliph's hands; the caliph sends Leo an invitation which he shows to the authorities; the emperor gives Leo a better teaching job and later arranges for his appointment to the see of Thessalonike through his kinsman John the Grammarian.[14] Beyond this, however, there are significant differences. The caliph's encounter with Leo's pupil is tied to a specific and datable event, the siege and capture of Amorion in 838; this means that the caliph in question would have been al-Mu'taṣim and not his more famous predecessor al-Mamun. The pupil sends word to the caliph from within the besieged city, encouraging him not to give up the siege, because within two days the city will be betrayed. We are not actually told how the prediction was made, and can only guess that the young man had inside information, but since he is called an *astronomos*, we are given to understand that he presented it to the caliph as a piece of astrological deduction, which is why the caliph was so impressed by the pupil and wanted to poach the teacher. There is nothing here about geometry. The caliph conveys the invitation to Leo by means of *another* captive – which makes sense if the master's pupil was a traitor. Theophilos appoints Leo to teach at the Magnaura, in the Great Palace, not at the Forty Martyrs, and there is no mention of further correspondence with the caliph.

Two elements common to both accounts strike me as slightly suspect. One is the actual dispatch of the caliph's invitation to Leo. If the letter-bearer was sent in an unofficial capacity, there was a high risk that he would either be arrested as a spy, or dump the letter and his mission as soon as he was safe inside Byzantine territory. If, on the other hand, the bearer came as an accredited ambassador to the Byzantine court, ostensibly to negotiate the release of the prisoners from Amorion, he would have been closely watched if not searched when he reached Constantinople. The other point that strains credibility concerns Leo's relationship with John the Grammarian. Since John was so close to Theophilos, why did his learned relative have to wait for an invitation from Baghdad in order to get a better job? One might speculate that John was reluctant to ask a favour on Leo's behalf, either because he feared that Leo would steal his own role as the emperor's mentor, or because he anticipated a negative reaction from Theophilos –

[14] Pseudo-Symeon: ed. Bekker, 638–40; Continuator of George the Monk: ed. Bekker, 804–6; Leo Grammatikos: ed. Bekker, 224–5.

in which case one could imagine him and Leo concocting the letter in order to attract the emperor's attention.

However, if we suspend scepticism and speculation on this point, we can see that the chronicle version is again to be preferred to that of Theophanes Continuatus, not only because of its proven record of reliability, but also, again, because it makes better political sense of an episode which it puts in a precise and verified historical context.[15] It is inherently more plausible that the caliph's attention should have been caught by a helpful traitor with astrological expertise than by a slave, not even his own slave at that, with a self-professed interest in geometry. The only point on which Theophanes Continuatus might be thought to offer better information is that concerning the location where Theophilos appointed Leo to teach, and I am inclined to agree with Lemerle that in naming this as the Magnaura, the chroniclers may have been misled by their knowledge of Leo's later appointment to the school of the Magnaura founded by the Caesar Bardas in the next reign. There was certainly a school at the Forty Martyrs in the eleventh century; that this school existed under Theophilos can be inferred from the mention of a bureau of notaries at the same church during his reign, for schools and notaries tended to go together.[16]

It may be that Theophanes Continuatus has sought to 'correct' the information of his source that the Forty Martyrs was the school where Leo taught *before* Theophilos promoted him. What is clear is that Theophanes Continuatus has improved on all the other details in a way typical and revealing of his mid-tenth-century viewpoint. He has not just elaborated the storyline. He has decided to identify the caliph as al-Mamun, a ruler famous for his scientific interests; he has turned Leo's pupil from a renegade, an astrologer, and probably a fraud, into an innocent captive and a credit to his teacher and his country. While not suppressing all mention of Leo's astrology, with which he is clearly uncomfortable, he has shifted the emphasis from the suspect science of applied astronomy to the impeccable science of pure mathematics. He has constructed a dramatic confrontation in which the humble Christian slave, whose wisdom is deep and true, confounds the infidel ruler and his pompous philosophers with their showy but shallow apparatus of learning: a construction reminiscent, surely, of the philosophical debates with which the likes of Symeon Metaphrastes were embellishing the acts of the martyrs. And the whole point of this *metaphrasis* is to turn Leo, or rather Leo's learning, into a national asset

[15] Treadgold, 'Chronological Accuracy', 185–7. I thus do not follow Speck, 'Weitere Überlegungen', 265ff, in regarding as pure invention the whole of Leo's story up to his appointment to the see of Thessalonike (see further his chapter earlier in this volume).

[16] See P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), 36ff.

like Greek fire, purple-born princesses and imperial crowns – assets which, according to Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Constantine the Great had placed under an export ban backed by dire curses that were engraved on the altar of Hagia Sophia.[17]

The ideological construction of Theophanes Continuatus' narrative becomes even clearer from its similarity to a piece of late ninth-century hagiography, which tells of a visit to the 'Abbāsid court by another of Leo's pupils. According to the Slavonic *Life* of St Constantine/Cyril, the future apostle of the Slavs was sent, at the age of twenty-four, on an embassy to the Saracens in order to counter their blasphemies against the doctrine of the Trinity.[18] While he was in their country, 'the Hagarenes, learned people and versed in letters, with a knowledge of geometry, astronomy and other disciplines', subjected the philosopher to a series of testing questions, all of which he answered conclusively, even quoting the *Qur'ān* at them. He demonstrated the superiority of the Christian faith, the political legitimacy of the Roman empire, and the fact that the empire was the source of all the arts and sciences in which his interlocutors considered themselves expert. Having failed to embarass him with their learning and disputational skills, or to impress him with the caliph's gardens and riches, they tried unsuccessfully to poison him.

As Dvornik has shown in his admirable commentary, the embassy seems real enough, but the *Life* has suppressed all mention of what was presumably its main business, the exchange of prisoners and the negotiation of peace terms. The hagiographical inflation of the hero combines the two patriotic elements which we encountered in Theophanes Continuatus, that is the game of diplomatic showmanship and the trouncing of the Arab intellectuals by native Roman wisdom. Again, the infidels are shown to be beaten at their game, because, despite appearances, it is not really theirs.

It is entirely characteristic of the source material that we do not know whether Constantine served on the same embassy as his other teacher, Photios. The evidence that Photios went as an envoy to the 'Abbāsid court is to be found in the preface and the epilogue of his monumental review of three hundred and eighty-six books, the *Bibliotheke*.[19] A literal reading of these opening and closing sections yields the information that Photios composed the *Bibliotheke* for his brother Tarasios while waiting to depart on an imperial embassy to the Assyrians. The date of the embassy and the

[17] Constantine VII, *De administrando imperio* 13 lines 30ff, 74ff, 111ff: ed. and tr. G. Moravcsik and R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington DC, 1967), 66–70.

[18] F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), 85–111 (commentary), 354–8 (text in translation).

[19] Ed. R. Henry and J. Schamp, 9 vols (Paris, 1959–77, 1991); tr. and emended text of the relevant sections in W. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius* (Washington DC, 1980), 16–9.

literal truth of Photios' frame story have been endlessly debated, though everyone agrees that the Assyrians are the Arabs, and that Photios could only have participated on such an embassy as a layman, before his ordination in 858.[20] It does not matter for our purpose whether this was the embassy of 855, the embassy of 845, or, least likely, the embassy of 838, or some other embassy we know nothing about; in any of these cases, the *Bibliotheke*, taken literally, is an *oeuvre de jeunesse*. Nor does it very much matter whether Photios really wrote the *Bibliotheke* as we have it in its entirety before setting off, though I believe the arguments for later additions to the text are fairly compelling,[21] and I find it hard to believe that any scholar could have resisted the temptation to revisit and update a work of this scope in the light of later reading and reflections. The certain and interesting fact is that Photios did not change his frame-story; he did not revise or update his preface and epilogue, but chose to present the *Bibliotheke* to posterity as an extended letter written on the eve of an embassy to the caliphate. Thus he pointedly connects his vast store of learning with the road to Baghdad, but not with the completion of the journey; he lets his reader know that he is taking the inventory *before* he takes the road.

Our fifth and last figure, Leo Choirosphaktes, is not remembered as the leading intellectual of his day; he tends to be eclipsed by his contemporary and enemy Arethas of Caesarea, and even by his master, Leo VI. This is partly because his most ambitious extant work, a long theological poem addressed to the young Constantine Porphyrogennetos, is still unpublished.[22] Although this work, along with most of Choirosphaktes' literary *oeuvre*, was written in the tenth century, and Choirosphaktes was still alive in 921, he can be treated in the ninth-century context: he began his political career under Basil I, and he spent most of it in the service of Leo VI, the emperor whose reign covers the turn of the century. The diplomatic mission to the east which Choirosphaktes undertook between 905 and 907 therefore marks an appropriate terminus for our survey.

Choirosphaktes had already proved his worth as a diplomat in three embassies to Symeon of Bulgaria. Like these embassies, the one to the caliphate is known mainly from his own correspondence, though further

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[20] In addition to Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca*, see J. Schamp, *Photios historien des lettres: La `Bibliothèque' et ses notices biographiques* (Paris, 1987); A. Markopoulos, 'Νέα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴ χρονολόγηση τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Φωτιου', Σύμμεικτα 7 (1987), 165–82; N.G. Wilson, *Photius: The Bibliotheca* (London, 1994).

[21] See C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750–850', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington DC, 1975), 42–3; Markopoulos, 'Νέα στοιχεῖα'; M. Maas, 'Photius' Treatment of Josephus and the High Priesthood', *Byz* 60 (1990), 183–94.

[22] On this, see P. Magdalino, 'In Search of the Byzantine Courtier: Leo Choirosphaktes and Constantine Manasses', in H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture, 829–1204* (Washington DC, 1997), 141–65.

details are supplied by other sources, notably the *Life* of the Patriarch Euthymios and the history of al-Ṭabāri.[23] The embassy was apparently a success. Among other things, Choirosphaktes negotiated an exchange of prisoners, including the captives from the sack of Thessalonike in 904, and enlisted the representation of the eastern patriarchates at a synod that was to be held in Constantinople to settle the affair of the emperor Leo VI's fourth marriage. He returned to Constantinople bringing legates from Jerusalem and Antioch, along with ambassadors and diplomatic gifts from the caliph. Yet at some time, probably not long, after his return, he was charged with treasonable misconduct in his mission and banished from Constantinople.

The substance of the charges is obscured by the vague and emotional rhetoric of the sources. These are, on the one hand, a short passage in an invective by Arethas which is mainly directed against Choirosphaktes' religious views,[24] and, on the other hand, Choirosphaktes' letters to the emperor protesting his innocence.[25] Evidently he had been at cross-purposes with other members of his delegation, notably an unnamed eunuch who, Choirosphaktes says, had made himself popular with the Arabs by gratifying their taste for unnatural vice. This person is presumably to be identified with the Eunuch Basil who, according to al-Ṭabāri, stayed at Tarsus while the rest of the embassy went on to Baghdad. If Choirosphaktes is to be believed, this man and his associates had done all they could to wreck the embassy, and though he had managed to frustrate their efforts, they had claimed the credit for his achievements, while contriving to lay the blame for their misdeeds and loose talk at his door. They had found ready allies among his old enemies and his newly-acquired in-laws, and they had persuaded Choirosphaktes' fellow ambassador to write false reports on him – this, he says, had hurt him even more than the accusation itself.[26] We can only guess what this was. The most likely explanation is that the imperial ambassadors, and particularly that part of the embassy which remained at Tarsus, became involved in the negotiations between the caliph's government and a prominent Byzantine rebel, Andronikos Doukas,

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[23] Ed. and tr. G. Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice* (Athens, 1939), 47–9 (commentary), 90–129 (text); *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae Constantinopoleos*: ed. and tr. P. Karlin-Hayter (Brussels, 1970), 86–7, 100–1; *The History of al-Tabari* 37: tr. F. Rosenthal (Albany NY, 1985), 180–81; A.A. Vasiliev and M. Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes* 2, 1 (Brussels, 1968), 190–96.

[24] Ed. L. G. Westerink, *Arethae scripta minora* 1 (Leipzig, 1968), 200–12, at 203.

[25] Ed. Kolias, 97ff.

[26] See above, note 23. The suggestion that the eunuch was the *parakoimomenos* Samonas (Vasiliev and Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes* 2,1, 195) must be rejected in view of the likelihood that Samonas still stood high in Leo's favour at the time.

who was planning to defect, as he did in the spring of 907, shortly after the embassy had left Baghdad.[27]

During his two years in Arab territory, most of which were spent in Baghdad, Choirosphaktes had plenty of opportunity for intellectual enrichment. It was generally a promising time for cultural contacts between Arabs and Byzantines. Nicholas Mystikos and Arethas wrote letters to Arab rulers.[28] The growing fragmentation of the 'Abbāsid realm meant that Constantinople now had to negotiate with regional *amirs* as well as with the central government, which increased the frequency of diplomatic contact. The Emperor Leo VI was looking with grudging respect at the Islamic model of holy war and wondering how the Byzantine army could be made competitive.[29] Not only did prominent Byzantines like Andronikos Doukas defect to the east, but converted Arabs made careers in Byzantium. One was the eunuch Samonas, from a leading family of Tarsus and perhaps the most influential minister at court from 896 to 908.[30] Yet despite all this, neither Choirosphaktes, nor his correspondents, nor his detractors indicate that he brought anything back from Baghdad other than luxury gifts, Saracen envoys and patriarchal legates.[31] The only cultural business he will admit to is that of putting on a good show.[32] While in Baghdad or on the way there he apparently lost a book that he had borrowed from a friend. We may fantasize that it passed into the library of an Arab collector of Greek manuscripts; the owner, at least, assured him it was no great loss.[33]

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[27] P. Karlin-Hayter, 'The Revolt of Andronikos Doukas', *BSl* 27 (1966), 23–5 (repr. in eadem, *Studies in Byzantine Political History* [London, 1981], study VI). That Choirosphaktes was rightly or wrongly identified with the Doukas cause can be inferred from the following set of circumstances. If, as seems probable, his downfall occurred in the spring or summer of 907, it must have happened while Samonas was all-powerful; Samonas hated Andronikos Doukas (Theoph.Cont., 371–2). Choirosphaktes received hate mail from Constantine the Rhodian (ed. P. Matranga, *Anecdota graeca* 2 [Rome, 1950], 624–5), who at this time was Samonas' private secretary (Theoph.Cont., 375–6). Finally, several years later, after the death of Alexander in 913, when Constantine, the son of Andronikos Doukas, failed in a *coup d'état* against the regency government of Constantine VII, Choirosphaktes sought asylum in Hagia Sophia along with Gregoras Iberitzes, who as Doukas' father-in-law had been a party to the conspiracy (Theoph.Cont., 384).

[28] Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*: ed. and tr. R.J.H. Jenkins and L.G. Westerink, *CFHB* 6 (Washington DC, 1973), nos 1 and 2; Arethas, *Scripta minora* 1, ed. Westerink, no. 26.

[29] G. Dagron, 'Byzance et le modèle islamique au Xe siècle, à propos des *constitutions tactiques* des l'empereur Léon VI', *CRAI* (1983), 219–43.

[30] See L. Rydén, 'The Portrait of the Arab Samonas in Byzantine Literature', *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984), 101–8.

[31] Ed. Kolias, 91, 113.

[32] Ed. Kolias, 125.

[33] Ed. Kolias, 95.

So far the road to Baghdad has proved to be something of a dead end for the study of a Byzantine revival of learning. The one source which promises to tell us about cultural dialogue is of interest mainly as a reflection of the way in which the age of Constantine Porphyrogennetos chose to glamorize the empire's encounter with the 'Abbāsid caliphate at the height of its glory. Stripped of this spurious glamour, John the Grammarian's and Leo the Mathematician's contacts with the caliphate are reduced to pragmatic if picturesque political transactions. What Photios and Choirosphaktes have to say about their experience of the road to Baghdad has the merit of being first-hand information, but it is singularly uninformative and not even picturesque. The only recurrent theme is that of diplomacy, with captivity and defection as its motivating forces, and with showmanship as its only cultural agenda.[34] Apart from the design of the palace of Bryas, the one consistent impression left by our sources, whether first-hand or second-hand, is that our four ninth-century intellectuals learned nothing from their encounter with the Arab world.

Yet there is significance in the fact that four ninth-century individuals who were highly distinguished in *secular* learning were chosen to go on embassies to the caliphate. The choice suggests that philosophical discussion was definitely on the agenda,[35] and that the imperial government was concerned to convince the critical minds of the 'Abbāsid court that the wisdom of the Greeks was still, contrary to rumour, alive and well in Christian hands.[36] It is also surely significant that the one famous Byzantine intellectual of the period who did not make the journey to the caliphate was felt to have deserved an invitation to go there, because he had turned out pupils capable of holding their own with the infidel philosophers.

There is, moreover, a specific intellectual thread which connects three of these figures with the Arab world and with each other. The pattern formed by the connections excludes the two, Constantine and Photios, who, shortly after their missions to the caliphate, became zealous converts to the cause of propagating the newly triumphant orthodoxy of the Byzantine church;

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[34] See in general Hugh Kennedy, 'Byzantine-Arab diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic conquests to the mid-eleventh century', in J. Shepard and S. Franklin, eds, *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Aldershot, 1992), 133–43.

[35] This is hinted at by one of Choirosphaktes' correspondents, in terms which recall the description of the presentability of John the Grammarian: Choirosphaktes would amaze the Arabs διὰ σοφίας ... ὑπερβολήν, καὶ νοῦ καὶ λόγου πυκνότητα (ed. Kolias, 95).

[36] See Mas'udi, *Les prairies d'or*: ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. C. Pellat, 2 (Paris, 1965), 278; cf. A. Shboul, 'Byzantium and the Arabs: the Image of the Byzantines as Mirrored in Arabic Literature', in E. and M. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt, eds, *Byzantine Papers*, Byzantina Australiensia 1 (Canberra, 1981), 57–8. The Arabs did occasionally admit to being impressed by the learning of a Byzantine envoy: see Mas'udi's estimate of the *mystikos* John, ambassador in 334/945: tr. B. Carra de Vaux, *Maçoudi, Le livre de l'avertissement et de la révision* (Paris, 1896), 261.

a conversion which, it will become apparent, makes them the exceptions that prove the rule. The connecting thread is exposed most clearly in the story of Leo the Mathematician, and it appears, of course, in his scientific interests, of which the vital core was the astrological expertise that he passed on to his enterprising pupil.[37] There is no direct evidence that either John the Grammarian or Leo Choirosphaktes practised astrology. But in both cases a strong interest in the subject can be inferred from circumstantial facts. John the Grammarian was, as we have seen, related to Leo the Mathematician. Iconophile propaganda represented him as a sorcerer performing secret abominations in his domed residence – an observatory? – and maintaining his hold on Theophilos by occult divination.[38] Magic and astrology were closely associated in medieval reputations.[39] On one occasion John is said to have frustrated a three-pronged barbarian invasion by decapitating a three-headed bronze sculpture in the hippodrome.[40] Nearly one hundred years later the death of Symeon of Bulgaria was reportedly brought about by the mutilation of another statue, which Romanos I ordered on the advice of an *astronomos*.[41] All this makes it probable that John the Grammarian did dabble in astrology, the form of divination with the best claim to scientific and religious credentials. And there may be more: John was the son of a certain Pankratios, who has a good chance of being identical with the Pankratios who was 'astrologer and pseudo-prophet' at the court of Constantine VI in 792.[42]

As for Leo Choirosphaktes, he wrote an epitaph of Leo the Mathematician which marks him out as an admirer and possibly a pupil.[43] The emperor he served, Leo VI, took astronomy and astrology seriously: he foretold a solar eclipse in 896,[44] he had his astrologers cast the horoscope for his son

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[37] On Leo, see P. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism, The First Phase* (Canberra, 1986), 171–204; N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1982), 79–84; L. G. Westerink, 'Leo the Philosopher: Job and Other Poems', *Illinois Classical Studies* 11 (1986), 193–222.

[38] Theoph.Cont., 154–7.

[39] E.g. Gerbert of Aurillac, who became Pope Sylvester II: L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* 1 (New York, 1923), chapter 30, esp. 704–5. For Byzantium, see Pseudo-Symeon: ed. Bekker, 670 (invective against Photios); and Niketas Choniates 1: ed. J.L. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 147–8 (trial of Skleros Seth and Michael Sikidites). Cf. also H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (Washington DC, 1995), 81, 88, 127–9.

[40] Theoph.Cont., 155–6. C. Mango, 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder', *DOP* 17 (1963), 61.

[41] Theoph.Cont., 411–12.

[42] *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), 349; cf. Theoph. 1, 467–8. Although John's father is described as a 'shade-bearer' (σκιαστὴς), this may be no more than a pejorative way of saying that he was in close personal attendance on the emperor. Certainly John's education suggests that his father was either educated or well-connected, or both.

[43] Ed. Kolias, 132.

[44] Ed. Kolias, 77.

Constantine in 906,[45] and he summoned them in June of 908 to explain what was portended by an eclipse of the moon.[46] In an encomiastic poem, Choirosphaktes praised the emperor for his perception of the 'unalterable threads' of the stars.[47] That he shared the emperor's interest is confirmed by his long theological poem; this, as I have argued elsewhere, is a carefully packaged and padded defence of astrology. At the centre of its turgid and banal refutations of polytheism is the potentially explosive thesis that true knowledge of God is gained by knowledge of the cosmos, and particularly of the secrets encoded in the heavenly bodies, which are readable only to an initiate élite.[48]

So if astrology is the link between these men, what is the connection with the caliphate? Since they reveal no debt to their Islamic contemporaries, what is there, apart from chronological coincidence, to associate them with the golden age of Arabic astronomy? Here we are on the edge of uncharted territory where it it is hazardous to venture without technical competence and an intimate knowledge of manuscripts. Much valuable pioneer work has been done since the publication of the corpus of Greek astrological codices early this century. On the one hand there is the work of the Belgian scholars who have studied the textual transmission of Ptolemy and his commentators in relation to the Byzantine reception of Arab empirical science. On the other hand, there is the monumental work of David Pingree in exploring the transmission of the astrological works of Vettius Valens, Dorotheos of Sidon and Hephaestio of Thebes among the Greeks, Persians, Indians and Arabs. The trouble is that the two investigations have proceeded separately, without co-ordinating their results, and without reference to the latest palaeographical studies of the earliest manuscripts. It is thus difficult for the non-initiate to form a comprehensive picture. In the absence of an idiot's guide to the field, all I can offer here is an idiot's impression of how it looks from the sidelines.

One initial observation: despite the division of labour among recent specialists, there is no point in distinguishing between astrology and astronomy. The theoretical distinction existed, of course, in ancient philosophy and in medieval canon law, but Byzantine texts regularly refer to astrologers as *astronomoi*, and I have yet to be convinced that patrons or practitioners of astronomy in the Middle Ages took a purely academic view

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[45] D. Pingree, 'The Horoscope of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus', *DOP* 27 (1973), 219–31.

[46] Theoph.Cont., 376; Continuator of George the Monk: ed. Bekker, 869; Leo Grammaticus: ed. Bekker, 284. For the date, see R.J.H. Jenkins, 'The "Flight" of Samonas', *Speculum* 23 (1948), 234 (repr. in idem, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries* [London, 1970]).

[47] P. Magdalino, 'The Bath of Leo the Wise and the "Macedonian Renaissance" Revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial, Ideology', *DOP* 42 (1988), 117–18.

[48] Magdalino, 'Byzantine Courtier'.

of what was in the stars. The notion of cosmic sympathy between different parts of the universe, whereby the celestial bodies exerted an influence on earthly matter, was deeply entrenched, and could readily be explained in terms of the workings of divine providence. In the manuscripts, astrological texts rub shoulders with Ptolemaic astronomical tables, for good practical reasons.[49]

In the view of the Belgian school, represented by Joseph Mogenet and Anne Tihon, it was not until the eleventh century that the Byzantines began to take on board the corrections to the Ptolemaic canon necessitated by the empirical observations of Arab astronomers, whom they referred to as the 'moderns' (νεωτεροι).[50] Yet the same scholars have published a number of Greek scholia based on independent observations or calculations datable to the ninth and tenth centuries.[51] What is remarkable, from our point of view, is the bunching of datable material at two points, 829–30 and 906–7, which coincide with the Baghdad embassies of John the Grammarian and Leo Choirosphaktes respectively. Moreover, three observations recorded in the first cluster were made in the caliphate in 829. Mogenet seems to have assumed, reasonably enough, that the eleventh-century scholiast derived the material from his Arabic sources. But he failed to explain a curious discrepancy in one scholion: although the figures yield a date of 829, the scholiast asserts that the observation was made at Damascus in the second year of the emperor Theophilos, i.e. 831.[52] It happens to be perfectly correct that in that year the Caliph al-Mamun was resident at Damascus, and his astronomers were recording data at an observatory that he had set up in

[49] Cf. F. Boll, 'Beiträge zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen Astrologie und Astronomie', *Sitzungberichte der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch.-historische Klasse* (1899), 105: 'Dass gerade auf die πρόχειροι κανόνες in dieser Zeit soviel Arbeit verwendet worden ist, erklärt sich nebenbei vor allem aus der Pflege der Astrologie: denn diese Tafeln waren von jeher ... das eigentliche Handwerkszeug der Astrologen'.

[50] J. Mogenet, 'L'influence de l'astronomie arabe à Byzance du IXe au XVe siècle', *Colloques d'Histoire des Sciences* (Louvain, 1976), 44–55; A. Tihon, 'L'astronomie byzantine (du Ve au XVe siècle)', *Byz* 51 (1981), 603–24; A. Tihon, 'Tables islamiques à Byzance', *Byz* 60 (1990), 401–25.

[51] J. Mogenet, 'Une scolie inédite du *Vatic.gr.*1594 sur les rapports entre l'astronomie arabe et Byzance', *Osiris*, 14 (1962), 198–221; J. Mogenet, 'Sur quelques scolies de l'"Almageste"', in J. Bingen, G. Cambier and G. Nachtergael, eds, *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels, 1975), 301–11; J. Mogenet, 'Les scolies astronomiques du *Vat.gr.*1291', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 40 (1969), 69–91; A. Tihon. 'Le calcul de la longitude de Vénus d'après un texte anonyme du *Vat.gr.*184', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 39 (1968), 51–82; A. Tihon, 'Le calcul de la longitude des planètes d'après un texte anonyme du *Vat.gr.*184', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 52 (1982), 5–29. See also Boll, 'Beiträge zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte', 104, for the note of an astrolabe reading dated 907 (in Florence, Laur.plut. 28.34); and A. Tihon, *Le 'Petit Commentaire' de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée*, *St*T 282 (Rome, 1978), 189, for a table of bright stars dating to 854.

[52] Mogenet, 'Sur quelques scolies', 309–10.

the neighbourhood.[53] The discrepancy is therefore based on good information, which suggests either a scribal error in copying the observation data, or a confusion on the scholiast's part between the date of the observation and the date when this was recorded by his source. Either way, the dating by Byzantine regnal year points to a Byzantine source. And here we may recall that the second embassy of John the Grammarian was in exactly the right place at the right time.[54]

Finally, there is good, though highly problematic, evidence that Byzantine astrologers in the ninth century did take notice of the 'moderns' as well as the ancients. This is the defence of astrology attributed to one Stephen the Philosopher.[55] The author, addressing his son or pupil Theodosios, describes himself as a recent visitor from Persia to Constantinople, where, finding the astrological and astronomical part of philosophy to be extinguished, he has decided to revive it, lest he be found guilty of burying his talent. The art, he says, has been neglected in Byzantium, partly because of the difficulty of computing tables, and partly because some people think it sinful. Yet the 'nations' have cultivated it so thoroughly that they have put it on a new and sounder basis. Since the tables of Ptolemy and the other ancients are out by 5° with respect to the sun, and since the Byzantines are unfamiliar with the calendars used in existing tables (including those of the 'moderns', who use the regnal years of the Persian kings and the caliphs), the author has computed a table based on the Byzantine calendar and the latitude and longitude of Constantinople. Before launching into his defence of astrology, the author gives a potted history of the art, which he characterizes as a steady process of migration from the Chaldaeans to the Persians to the Greeks to the Egyptians to the Romans and finally to the Saracens; in short, it was always cultivated by the world power of the moment, which is why it had to be revived among Christians.

The references to Arab scientific achievement suggest a context no earlier than 750, and the text can be more precisely placed in the last quarter of the eighth century by its affinity with another text, a brief chronicle of the first twenty Islamic rulers masquerading as an astrological forecast made in 622 by the famous philosopher Stephen of Alexandria.[56] Since the text starts to get its facts wrong from soon after the accession of the third 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Mahdī, its composition has plausibly been dated to 775. The preface to the pseudo-prophecy contains a lengthy apologia for astrology

[53] See A. Sayili, *The Observatory in Islam, and its Place in the General History of the Observatory* (Ankara, 1960), 50–87.

[54] See p. 198 and note 9 above.

[55] Ed. F. Cumont in *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* 2 (Brussels, 1900), 181–6.

[56] Ed. H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* 3 (Leipzig, 1913; repr. Osnabruck, 1965), 247–89; cf. W. Wolska-Conus, 'Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie. Essai d'identification et de biographie', *REB* 47 (1989), 5–89, esp. 13–4.

which suggests a common authorship for both texts. But it is here, precisely, that the problem arises, for the identity of the author has given rise to two very different interpretations in recent literature. David Pingree takes Stephen the Philosopher from Persia entirely at his word, and regards his account of himself as evidence for an oriental contribution to the Byzantine revival of learning.[57] Gilbert Dagron, however, in two recent articles which do not refer to Pingree, assumes that he is as much a literary fiction as Pseudo-Stephen of Alexandria.[58] Against the impressive weight of Pingree's technical arguments and citation of the oriental sources, Dagron's thesis is seductive for its symmetry. A writer who could fake one identity could fake another; a philosopher who imports the latest wisdom from Persia is a fitting pendant to another who had brought the learning of ancient Egypt; and an exotic modern cover nicely complements an exotic ancient one in promoting the rehabilitation of a controversial science. Also, the claim of Stephen from Persia that he has computed tables valid for Constantinople is suspiciously reminiscent of the fact that the real Stephen of Alexandria had adapted Ptolemy's Handy Tables for Constantinopolitan use.[59]

I therefore find it hard to choose between the two interpretations. At issue is the question whether some philosopher did indeed come from the caliphate c.775 bearing the renaissance of astronomy and astrology in his baggage. Two lines of enquiry suggest themselves. One is to return, with this question in mind, to the study of the astronomical data in the earliest manuscripts, Leidensis BPG 78 and Vaticanus graecus 1291. The 'archaeology' of these codices goes back to the late eighth century and may yet contain vital clues. The Leidensis, of the early ninth century, contains scholia dating from 775–76, 780, 788, 797–98, and 812.[60] A strong case has been made for dating the core of the Vatican Ptolemy to the reign of Constantine V. The famous sun table on fol.9r, which uses the Byzantine year beginning in September, may then yield a date of 753–54. But other tables, now on fols.1–4, which were specifically computed for the longitude and latitude of Constantinople, are slightly later additions to the original manuscript.[61]

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[57] D. Pingree, 'Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia', *DOP* 43 (1989), 227–39, at 238–9.

[58] G. Dagron, 'Les diseurs d'événements. Réflexions sur un "thème astrologique" byzantin', in *Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby* 4 (Aix-en-Provence, 1992), 57–65; G. Dagron, 'Formes et fonctions du pluralisme lingustique à Byzance', *TM* 12 (1994), 235.

[59] Partial edition by Usener, *Kleine Schriften* 3, 295–319. Cf. O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* 2 (Berlin, Heidelberg and New York, 1975), 1045ff.; Tihon, 'L'astronomie byzantine', 607–9.

[60] Ed. T. Mommsen in *MGH Auctores antiquissimi* 12 (Berlin, 1894), 449, 452–3; Boll, 'Beiträge', 105; Tihon, *Le 'Petit Commentaire' de Théon d'Alexandrie*, 191.

[61] See D. Wright, 'The Date of the Vatican Illuminated Handy Tables of Ptolemy and of its Early Additions', *BZ*, 78 (1985), 355–62; cf. also I. Ševčenko, 'The Search for the Past in Byzantium Around the Year 800', *DOP* 46 (1992), 279.

The other potentially fruitful line of enquiry is to investigate the theology of Stephen's apologia for astrology. His basic argument is that since the heavenly bodies are inanimate created beings, to study them is to worship their creator; indeed, it is a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit not to study and interpret the divine wisdom which they reveal. The argument was well grounded in patristic thought and may seem banal, but it had not been used before to claim Christian credentials for what late antiquity had officially regarded as a black art.[62] Did Stephen invent the argument, or was there a tradition of thought behind it? This is a question for students of the Christian orient, because it seems to me that the most likely breeding ground for such a tradition was among the Christian communities east of Byzantium, both those on former Roman territory, and those which had known only Sassanian and Islamic rule. It was this Christian world from which 'Stephen' purported to come, and which had provided the early 'Abbāsid caliphate with a very well-attested astrologer, Theophilos of Edessa.[63] It seems to me that the Constantinople of the seventh and eighth centuries, with its obsessive and repressive insistence on Orthodoxy, was not a congenial environment for the reversal of traditional attitudes to astrology. However, it is worth noting that the theological argument in favour of astrology was not incompatible with the iconoclast theory of religious imagery. This is apparent from Leo Choirosphaktes' theological poem, the kernel of which is, as we have seen, an apologia for science in general and astrology in particular, that reproduces the essentials of Stephen's argument. Choirosphaktes stresses the importance of dissimilar images, and of the beauty of nature, in leading the mind to God. Thus insofar as the new theology of science took sides in the great ideological debate of the eighth and ninth centuries, it inherently favoured the side which looked for God in his works, and not in his human face.

Whoever Stephen the Philosopher may have been, and however genuine his claim to have put astrology and astronomy back on the map, his undoubted contribution was to give ninth-century Byzantium a new theoretical underpinning for the science of applied star-gazing. The influence of his manifesto is abundantly evident: it was copied; his list of caliphs was updated, no doubt by Leo the Mathematician, in 861;[64] Leo Choirosphaktes incorporated 'Stephen's' arguments into his theological poem, and Manuel I used them in his twelfth-century defence of astrology.[65] Both the date at which Stephen wrote and the content of his ideas gave him an

[62] See most recently M.T. Fögen, *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager* (Frankfurt, 1993).

[63] On whom see Pingree, 'Classical and Byzantine Astrology', 236ff.

[64] See Usener, *Kleine Schriften* 3, 264, 287 (additions transmitted in ms Vind.philol.gr.108).

[65] Ed. F. Cumont and F. Boll, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* 5,1 (Brussels, 1904), 125–40; cf. P. Hildebrand Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, *OCA* 114 (Rome, 1937), 65ff; Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 377.

implicit association with Iconoclasm which was surely not lost on future generations. How the torch was passed on to future generations is another story, though it presumably involved the astrologer Pankratios, who may have been John the Grammarian's father, and it may have involved the mysterious sage with whom Leo the Mathematician is said to have studied on Andros.[66] It is surely not coincidence that in the ninth century the torch burned most brightly under the last iconoclast emperor, and that it was carried by two more or less committed iconoclasts, both of whom had contact with the 'Abbāsid court. For whether or not Stephen came from Baghdad, his manifesto for celestial science linked the revival of astronomy and astrology with the learning of the caliphate. Or, to put it the other way round, the road to Baghdad became inextricably associated, in Byzantine intellectual life, with astrology and Iconoclasm. With this association in mind, we may better understand the exception represented by Photios and Constantine/Cyril, whose missionary career identified him with Photios rather than with his other teacher, Leo the Mathematician. As is well known, Photios was an ardent opponent of Iconoclasm. He also did not have much time for the mathematical sciences.[67] The period when he dominated the Byzantine intellectual scene saw little astrological activity, but this activity revived under the emperor who forced Photios to quit the scene. His *Bibliotheke*, with its unrevised preface and epilogue, thus stood as an enduring and deliberate reminder that for him the road to Baghdad was emphatically not a learning experience. He had gathered all the wisdom that he, or anyone, needed, in Constantinople, the fount of orthodoxy as he called it.[68] Reading Theophanes Continuatus one senses that it was Photios' view of the ninth century which prevailed.

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[66] Theoph.Cont., 192. For all the implausibility of this information, and the unreliability of its source, I would not rule out the possibility that some learned figure had been exiled to the island because of his politically sensitive astrological expertise.

[67] Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca*, 103. Photios' writings certainly do not support the accusation by Pseudo-Symeon that he was expert in the forbidden books of divination and astrology (ed. Bekker, 670).

[68] Letter to the eastern patriarchs, eds B. Laourdas and L. Westerink, *Photii epistulae et Amphilochia* 1 (Leipzig, 1983), 41.

16. Byzantium and al-Andalus in the ninth century*

Eduardo Manzano Moreno

Sea raiding and imperial policy in the Mediterranean

Some time between year 694 and 702 a Byzantine naval expedition made an unsuccessful attempt to land on some spot along the southeastern coast of the Iberian peninsula. The episode is only mentioned by the *Anonymous Chronicle of 754* (also known as *Mozarab Chronicle*) which says that the 'Greeks' came in ships, landed on the territory of a certain Theodomir, probably the visigothic *dux* in charge of the region, but then were defeated by him.[1] Although the concise statement of the chronicle makes it difficult to draw any solid conclusion, it would be tempting to link this attack with the fall of Carthage to the Arabs around 696 and to explain it as the Byzantine navy's desperate attempt to retreat to the Iberian peninsula after the empire had been deprived of that important North African base.[2] In this context, it is relevant to bear in mind that Byzantium had kept a foothold in the southeastern Iberian peninsula at least until 621, a legacy of the Justinianean expansion of the sixth century.

Theodomir's victory over the 'Greeks' on the eve of the Arab conquest of Spain in 711 is significant. It was the last time that a Byzantine navy ventured to the other edge of the Mediterranean and, conceivably, their final bid to recover lands along the Iberian peninsula. In the aftermath of the Arab conquest, the empire's fleet was not powerful enough to intervene beyond Sicily and thereafter we have no evidence of direct contacts between Byzantium and the land formerly known as Hispania, but which the Arabs

[1] '[Theudemir] Sed et iam sub Egicam et Uuittizam Gothorum regibus in Grecis, qui equorei nabalique descenderant sua in patria, de palmam uictorie triumphauerat': *Chronica Muzarabica*: ed. I. Gil, Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum 1 (Madrid, 1973), 34.

[2] J. Orlandis, *Historia de España. La España Visigoda* (Madrid, 1977), 287.

From *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, ed. Leslie Brubaker. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

named al-Andalus, for more than a century. During this period the empire resisted Arab expansion in the east, but was unable to reverse the conquests of the late seventh and early eighth century in the west, where the emergence of dynasties such as the Fihrīds and then the Aghlabids in Ifrīqiya, the Idrīsids in the Maghreb or the Umayyads in al-Andalus gave a permanent character to those conquests.

The map which emerged as a result of this consolidation defined a number of political formations with huge coastal territories facing the Mediterranean. However, none of them became a sea power. In fact, as P. Guichard has rightly pointed out, the main centres of political power seem to have withdrawn from a troublesome sea during this period: Carthage rapidly lost its former importance in favour of Qayrawān, Tanger and Ceuta were replaced by inland Fez as the most importat city in the Maghreb, and Cordova, another inland city, was named the capital of the Umayyads. [3]

Despite the continental character of these Islamic political formations, naval expeditions in the western Mediterranean were very frequent in this period. From the end of the eighth century onwards the coasts of al-Andalus, the Maghreb and Ifrīqiya became the starting point of a series of sea incursions against Christian territories. This is generically known as 'Sarracen piracy', an old fashioned as well as inaccurate expression. Latin sources which refer to these expeditions consistently speak of *Mauri*, or *Mauri* and *Sarraceni* as the perpetrators of these raids, indicating that these activities were mainly carried out by Berber populations, which extensive documentation places not only in North Africa, but in the Andalusian eastern coastlands as well. Furthermore, the targets of these sea raids were primarily cities and villages in the mainland of Italy, southern France or the Mediterranean islands and the few ships they captured en route were merely incidental.

As P. Guichard has also clearly shown, these sea raids were, so to speak, 'private enterprises'. They were not induced by the ruling Arab dynasties of those territories, but rather it seems that they were executed by coastal populations who profited from the absence of a naval power capable of chasing their ships from the western Mediterranean.[4] A text compiled by the fourteenth-century geographer al-Ḥimyarī, who unfortunately does not mention his source, supports Guichard's view. It refers to a group of 'sailors' (*al-baḥriyyūn*) who were settled in Tortosa, a coastal city in northeastern al-Andalus, and whom the text describes as riffraff (*awbāsh*). Despite having a pact with the Umayyad *amīr*, they did not hesitate to break it by attacking an Andalusian village. Fearing the *amīr*'s reprisal, they decided to move their base constantly, but kept on attacking other

[3] P. Guichard, 'Los inicios de la piratería andalusí en el Mediterráneo occidental', in idem, *Estudios de Historia Medieval* (Valencia, 1987), 78.

[4] Guichard, 'Los inicios', 82–3.

Mediterranean coastlands in the land of the Franks. Finally they settled in a site on al-Andalus' southeastern coast, Pechina, which eventually became an important trading port.[5] Although these events took place in the second half of the ninth century, the description of these sea raiders as brigands who escaped, and eventually challenged, central authority may be also applied to their predecessors of the first half of the century and helps to understand the character of their forays.

The Byzantine empire was affected by these sea raids in two different ways. First, they were a serious threat to its territories in Sicily and southern Italy; secondly, they had a damaging effect on its prestige in the west at the beginning of the ninth century, a crucial period in terms of legitimacy for the empire, due to the rise of the Carolingians. But apart from strengthening coastal defences eastern emperors could not do much more in military terms, which left diplomacy as the only resort against these sea raiders.

Diplomatic dealings showing Byzantine concern for these sea raids can be attested from the early ninth century. A letter sent by Pope Leo III to Charlemagne in 813 conveys to the Frankish emperor a report of the diplomatic dealings undertaken by the Patrice Gregory of Sicily with ambassadors of a Muslim sovereign whose name is eclipsed in the text, but who can be convincingly identified as Idrīs II, the ruler of the Maghreb.[6] Leo III knew about these dealings through his agents in Sicily, who informed him what the Muslim ambassadors had transmitted to Gregory. According to them, a long minority had prevented the Idrīsid ruler from respecting pacts that apparently had existed formerly. Now that their ruler was firmly in command of the territories which had belonged to his father he could guarantee the fulfilment of a new pact. There was nothing, however, that he could do against the Andalusians, except to offer the possibility of joining forces with the Byzantines in order to expel them from the sea. As a result of all this, a truce of ten years and an exchange of prisioners were negotiated.[7]

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[5] al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fi khabar al-aqṭār*, ed. I. 'Abbās (Beirut, 1975), 80.

[6] *MGH Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 3, ed. E. Dummler (Hanover, 1895), 97–9. M. Amari took the Muslim ambassadors as envoys from the Aghlabid ruler: *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* 2,1 (Catania, 1933), 273. However, Talbi showed that the political circumstances described by the ambassadors fit with the events in the Idrīsid domains where Idrīs II succeeded his father after a long minority: 'Ad haec respondebant ipsi Sarracenorum missi dicentes: Pater istius Amiralmuminin, qui nunc apud nos regnare videtur, defunctus est et iste relictus est parvulus, et qui fuit servus factus est liber, et qui liber fuit effectus dominus; et nullum se regem habere putabant; sed ecce nunc postquam omnia quae pater suius habuit sibi subjecit, vult firma stabilitate hoc quod paramus pactum servare'. See M. Talbi, *L'Emirat Aghlabide 184–296/800–909. Histoire Politique* (Paris, 1966), 396. Interestingly, Idrīs II is portrayed as *Amiralmuminin* in this Latin source.

[7] *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 3, 98: '... de Spanis vobiscum non spondemus quia non sunt sub ditione regni nostri; sed inquantum valemus eos superare, sicut vos ita et nos contra illos in mare dimicare permittimus: et si soli nos non valemus, nos a parte nostra et vos a vestra Christianorum finibus eos abjiecimus. Post haec vero convenit illis et confirmavere in scripto inter se pacto in annos decem'.

The motives which led Idris II to propose this strange alliance with the Byzantines, and its subsequent results, remain obscure. However, it is interesting to note that the sea raids which had reached a climax in the preceding years came to a halt after 813. Whether this cessation was a consequence of the joint efforts of Byzantines and Idrīsids, or whether this coincided with a more effective defence of the Christian coastlands is impossible to tell.

Interestingly, the end of sea incursions in the western Mediterranean coincides with the beginning of similar raids in its eastern part. The year 815 is the accepted date for the arrival of a band of Andalusians in Alexandria. It is customary to identify these Andalusians as exiles who had left Cordova following the cruel repression of a urban revolt against the Umayyad *amīr* al-Ḥakam I. This assumption is supported by three late Arab sources: Ibn Sa'īd, Ibn Simāk and al-Maqrīzī, none of which is earlier than the thirteenth century.[8] The problem is that the standard chronology places the Cordovan revolt in 818, three years after the arrival of the Andalusian ships in Alexandria.[9] With this in mind, the evidence of earlier Egyptian sources such as al-Kindī (d. 971) or Severus b. al-Muqaffa' (d. after 987) seems more convincing: the former states that the Andalusians arrived in Alexandria on their way back from one of their raids, whereas the latter asserts that 'Alexandria was invaded by a host of those who are called Andalusians, laden with much booty from the islands of the Romans'.[10] Both references indicate that these Andalusians were sea raiders who had arrived at the Egyptian city during a period when the administration in that province was in disarray as a consequence of the great 'Abbāsid civil war.

Immediately after their arrival in Alexandria these Andalusians initiated a series of sea raids on the Aegean islands. The account of Severus b. al-Muqaffa' tells us that the capture of slaves, unquestionably the most current merchandise in the ninth-century Mediterranean, was their main objective. At the same time, they became involved in the chaotic struggles that stirred the province, and the city in particular, during these years, earning a well deserved savage reputation for their bloodthirsty behaviour. The details of their troublesome stay in Alexandria are irrelevant for us here. Suffice to say that the 'Abbāsid governors' re-establishment of authority led to the expulsion of this ruthless band in 827. From Egypt the Andalusians,

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[8] Ibn Sa'īd al-Magribī, *al-Mugrib fī ḥula al-Magrib* 1, ed. Shawqi al-Dayf (Cairo, 1953), 42; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khiṭāṭ* 1, ed. al-Malijī (Cairo, 1906–08), 278; Ibn Simāk, *al-Zuhrat al-manthūra fī nukt al-akhbār al-ma'thura*, ed. M.A. Makki (Madrid, 1984), 117–18.

[9] E. Lévi Provençal, *España Musulmana (711–1031)*, in R. Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Historia de España* 4 (Madrid, 1950), 111.

[10] al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, in E.J. Gibb Memorial 19 (Leiden and London, 1912), 152; Severus b. al-Muqaffa' , *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*: ed. and tr. B. Evetts, *PO* 10, 429.

led by a certain Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ballūtī, sailed to Crete, conquered the island from the Byzantines and then used it as a base for further forays in the Aegean Sea and Asia Minor.[11]

In the summer of the same year, 827, the Aghlabids of Ifrīqiya launched their attack against Byzantine Sicily. Arab sources give interesting details on the composition of the Aghlabid expedition. The conquering army led by Asad b. al-Furāt gathered members of the Arab *jund* settled in Ifrīqiya, Berbers, and people from al-Andalus. The participation of Andalusians from the very beginning stages of the Sicilian expedition is noteworthy. A few months later, while the conquerors were fruitlessly besieging Syracuse, new reinforcements arrived from Ifrīqiya as well as from al-Andalus. Furthermore, in 830, new bands of Andalusian sea raiders descended upon the Sicilian battlefield just as the fate of the Aghlabid conquerors appeared at its lowest point. One of these bands came from the coastal city of Tortosa and was on its way to attack the land of the Rūm when headwinds drove their ships to Sicily. Their leader was a certain Farjalūsh Aṣbag b. Wakīl al-Hawwārī, a Berber who belonged to the tribe of Hawwāra which is extensively documented as having settled in eastern al-Andalus. The other band likewise came from Tortosa and was led by a certain Sulaymān b. 'Āfiya, perhaps a lieutenant of Farjalūsh.[12] These bands joined the Aghlabids and helped them to lift the blockade of Mineo where their army had been besieged. After ravaging that part of the island, many of their ranks, included those of Farjalūsh, were swept by epidemic and the survivors decided to return to al-Andalus.[13]

These references show that both the landing in Alexandria and the conquest of Sicily attracted a fair number of Andalusian sea raiders who had been active in the western Mediterranean in the previous decades. In no case did the participation of these Andalusians seem to have been the result of an active policy undertaken by the Umayyads. They acted on their own account and were only lured by the prospects of booty. Their ruthless behaviour in Alexandria or their quarrels with members of the Aghlabid army over the partition of booty demonstrate that dealing with these errand Andalusians was far from being a pleasant experience. In this connection it might be suggested that the landing in Alexandria and the subsequent conquest of Crete show that these sea raiders could take advantage of the naval weakness of the political formations in the area, whereas the conquest of Sicily was the first attempt by a Mediterranean political power to realize territorial expansion by 'exploiting' the warlike

[11] V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (c.824). A Turning Point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam* (Athens, 1984).

[12] Interestingly, Tortosa was the original base of the 'sailors' who finally settled in Pechina in the second half of the ninth century: see note 5 above.

[13] Talbi, *L'Emirat Aghlabide*, 418, 425, 432–33.

possibilities of these brigands. It is not surprising, therefore, that their activities became a matter of deep concern in Constantinople.

The embassy of emperor Theophilos to Cordova

The events in Crete and Sicily help to elucidate the motives that led Emperor Theophilos to take the unprecedented step of sending an embassy to Umayyad Cordova in 839–40. There is little doubt that the decision was also prompted by the recent conquest of Amorion in 838 by the 'Abbāsid armies whose impact on their contemporaries was very deep indeed. With the Aghlabids seriously threatening Sicily and southern Italy, Cretan sea raiders attacking the Aegean lands and the 'Abbāsid caliphate assuming the offensive in Asia Minor, it is small wonder that the resourceful emperor pleaded for help anywhere. With this aim, embassies were dispatched to Louis the Pious in Ingelheim, to the doge Peter Trandenicus in Venice and to the Umayyad *amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān II in Cordova.

The account of the embassy sent to Cordova is only preserved in two Arab Andalusian sources. One is a sixteenth-century compilation by al-Maqqāri, whose version is notably abridged and has scarce relevant information, but which for many years was the only one available to scholars such as Vasiliev or Bury.[14] The second, which is much more complete, was included in a volume of the *Muqtabis*, the celebrated work of the Cordovan eleventh-century historian Ibn Ḥayyān. The account of the embassy was partially edited by Lévi Provençal in *Byzantion* in 1937. This article must be considered as a primary source because the manuscript which had been discovered by the French Arabist was lost after his death and has remained unpublished to the present day.[15]

According to Lévi Provençal, the Byzantine embassador Qarṭiyus or Qraṭiyus al-Rūmī, who was an interpreter, arrived at Cordova in 225 H. (839–40). 'Abd al-Raḥmān II received the Byzantine ambassador in his court and thereafter sent him back to Constantinople with two Andalusian envoys, who happened to be astrologers: Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam al-Gazāl, a well-known court poet, and a puzzling Yaḥyā, who was known as *sāḥib al-munayqila*.[16] According to Lévi Provençal, Ibn Ḥayyān ended his account

[14] al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*: ed. I. 'Abbās (Beirut, 1968), 1, 346 and 2, 268–70. J.B. Bury, *A History of the Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802–867)* (London, 1912), 273A; A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* 1 (Brussels, 1935), 185-7. More recently, W. Treadgold also follows al-Maqqarī's account and repeats Vasiliev's anachronistic qualification of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II as *caliph*: *The Byzantine Revival 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), 320 note 441

[15] E. Lévi Provençal, 'Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXe siècle', *Byz* 12 (1937), 1–24.

[16] On al-Gazāl and his poetry see the references gathered by M. Marín, 'Nómina de sabios de al-Andalus, 93–350–711–961', *Estudios Onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus* (Madrid, 1988), no. 1534. More puzzling is the other ambassador. The title *ṣaḥib al-munayqila* ('master of the little clock') is construed by Lévi Provençal as a reference to his skill with mechanical devices.

with a series of stories which showed the wit and right behaviour of Yaḥyā b. Gazāl during his stay at the imperial court and the good relations he managed to establish with Empress Theodora.[17]

Fortunately, Ibn Ḥayyān included in his work what seems to have been the official response of the Umayyad *amīr* to the Byzantine proposals and fortunately this is the part that Lévi Provençal decided to edit in his article. The text is divided in two parts: the first is a long preamble summarizing Theophilos' proposals, indicating that 'Abd al-Raḥmān had understood what the ambassador had dispatched. The second is the response of the Umayyad *amīr*.

According to this text, the emperor's proposals were basically four. First, Theophilos suggested a treaty of friendship and mutual support which would be followed by a regular exchange of embassies. Second, Theophilos recognized the Andalusian *amīr* as the legitimate descendant of the Umayyad caliphs, who had been dethroned by the unlawful 'Abbāsids and urged him to send an expedition to the east to recover the land of his ancestors. Third, the emperor expected 'Abd al-Raḥmān to take action against the sea raiders who had conquered Crete as they were rebel Andalusians who had transferred their allegiance to the 'Abbāsid caliph. Finally, the preamble makes an obscure and short reference to the Aghlabids, which presumably hides a more specific overture intended to extract some action from 'Abd al-Raḥmān against the ongoing conquest of Sicily. In this respect the text only says: 'You [i.e. Theophilos] inform me that the *amīrs* of Ifrīqiya are in dispute with Ibn Marīda [i.e. the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu 'taṣim], they give him signs of rebellion and find his authority too hard'.[18]

'Abd al-Raḥmān's response was characteristically uncompromising. It was great to have a new friend and it was great to know that this friend had such a high esteem for the Umayyads. The *amīr* was prepared for anything that God might have in store for him and was confident that eventually God would decree the reestablishment of Umayyad rule in the east. In the meantime, it was clear that the emperor could deal with Abū Ḥafṣ and his followers more effectively than he could. After all, they were exiles, far away; they would pay no heed to his commands. Surely the emperor was not so weak as to be unable to punish them and expell them from the lands they had seized. As for the issue of the Aghlabids, the Umayyad *amīr* carefully avoided any reference to them and concluded his response by saying he looked forward to hearing from the emperor again and to receiving more presents from him.

Theophilos' disappointment at this reply is implied by the fact that no more embassies were dispatched to Cordova. The contents of 'Abd al-

[17] Some of these anecdotes were gathered by al-Maqqarī.

[18] Lévi Provençal, 'Un exchange', 18.

Raḥmān's response made it quite clear that the Umayyad *amīr* was unable to set up a Mediterranean policy: Cretan raiders were out of his control and his refusal to mention the Aghlabids (who were probably a central issue in the Byzantine proposal) implied that the Umayyad had no desire and probably not even the capacity to face the North African *amīrs* or to curtail the activities of the Andalusian sea raiders who were helping them.

'Abd al-Raḥmān's elusiveness was justified. As a matter of fact, the Andalusian *amīr* had practically no fleet, a detail that the emperor Theophilos seems to have ignored before sending his embassy. The absence of an Umayyad navy was evident five years later, in 843, when a Viking raid sacked several cities along the Atlantic coast and continued up the river Guadalquivir unopposed. The raiders also sacked Seville before they were finally beaten back by a land army hastily recruited from the frontiers and other inland areas. Nevertheless, they still managed more attacks on coastal cities on their way back. In the aftermath of this raid 'Abd al-Raḥmān II ordered coastal watching points set up and the immediate construction of shipyards. This policy seems to have paid off. In 858 another Viking raid encountered a number of Umayyad ships patrolling the Andalusian coasts. The Vikings managed to attack a couple of coastal cities, but the damage they caused was considerably less than in the previous raid. A few years earlier, in 849, an Umayyad squadron had forced the inhabitants of the Balearic islands to pay tribute to Cordova; this date is significant for, although the effective annexation of these islands only took place in 903, it marks the first attempt at naval expansion by the Umayyad dynasty.[19]

In short, during the first half of the ninth century the Umayyads did not have a fleet and they only started to build one up after al-Andalus had suffered Viking raids. Even then, as the slow annexation of the Balearic islands indicates, the Umayyad naval power was not particularly impressive. However, the naval weakness of the Umayyads seems to have been unknown to Theophilos, whose rather grandiose diplomatic scheme apparently rested on wrong assumptions perhaps drawn from a misunderstanding of the real character of the occupation of Crete by Andalusians. Far from being the front line of the Umayyad fleet, these sea raiders were brigands whose activities indirectly reflected the lack of a naval power in the western Mediterranean.

The ideological justification of the Byzantine embassy

The embassy of 839 not only shows the miscalculation of Theophilos in regard to the naval power of the Umayyad *amīr*, but it also bears witness

[19] J. Lirola Delgado, *El poder naval de al-Andalus en la época del califato omeya* (Granada, 1993), 110–20; Lévi Provençal, *España Musulmana*, 144–50.

to some interesting ideological issues. As mentioned earlier, the embassy of Theophilos proposed an expedition led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān II with the aim of conquering the eastern lands of his ancestors. The proposal was utterly extravagant, but it was put forward with some arguments worth examining.

The preamble to the response of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II reads:

> You [i.e.Theophilos] say that the the time has come for the fall of their dynasty [i.e. the 'Abbāsids], that the period of their sway is coming to an end and that God will allow the restoration of our house and the kingdom of our ancestors which are announced by the books (*kutub*) and the words of the prophets (*rusul*) and benefit, on the base of the best arguments, from a unanimous and obliging approval. You engage us in making an expedition against the usurpers in order to take revenge and you promise us your help ....[20]

What were these 'books and words of the prophets' that prompted Theophilos to proclaim that the end of the 'Abbāsids was near at hand, the restoration of the Umayyads imminent and that 'Abd al-Raḥmān II could take the opportunity to form an alliance that could help him to recover the lands of his ancestors?

Although it is impossible to give a straightforward answer to this question, it might be suggested that some prophetic traditions which had originated within the 'Abbāsid caliphate and which referred to the end of this dynasty were known in Constantinople at this period. The circulation of these traditions greatly increased as a result of the disruptions and uncertainties aroused by the 'Abbāsid civil war (809–33), a conflict which seems to have boosted the elaboration of eschatological material which predicted general commotions.

A contemporary, Nu'aym b. Ḥammād (d. 227/842), who was born in Khurasan but spent most of his life in Egypt, wrote a *Kitāb al-Fitān* that included a considerable amount of apocalyptic traditions elaborated in shi'ite and sunnite milieus. Several sections of this work gather prophetic traditions which explain the signs which would announce the fall of the 'Abbāsids.[21] One of them, for instance, forecasts that 'The last sign for the end of the kingdom of the 'Abbāsids will be three kings of them in succeession whose names are the names of the prophets'. Among the events which will surround the fall of the 'Abbāsids the same tradition mentions the killing of the governor of Egypt and the withholding of Egyptian tax.[22] As W. Madelung has rightly suggested, the three caliphs can be identified with Muḥammad al-Mahdī, Mūsā al-Hādī and Hārūn ar-Rashīd, and the events described in this prediction correspond with the turmoil of the 'Abbāsid civil war. Although to link prophetic traditions with historial events is

[20] Lévi Provençal, 'Un exchange', 17 and 21.

[21] Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *K. al-Fitān*: ed. S. Zakkār (Beirut, 1993), 123–35.

[22] Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *K. al-Fitān*: ed. Zakkār, 175–6.

always a hazardous task, it seems pretty clear that the tradition originated in that period and that the events it mentions in regard to Egypt can be related to the crisis of 'Abbāsid administration in that province during the second decade of the ninth century.[23]

Other traditions contained in the *Kitāb al-Fitān* make reference to 'al-Sufyānī', who is portrayed as an apocalyptic character, a member of the sufyānīd branch of the Umayyads who would defeat the 'Abbāsids. Scholars who have studied the references to al-Sufyānī disagree on the figure's origins and character. H. Lammens believed that the legend of al-Sufyānī was created soon after the fall of the Umayyads and that it reflected Syrian hopes of an Umayyad restoration. A similar, though more elaborated view, was held by R. Hartmann who suggested that al-Sufyānī became an anti-'Abbāsid messianic figure after the dethronement of the Umayyads. However, during this period the character was assimilated by shi'ite traditionalists who, in turn, transformed him into an opponent of the Mahdī.[24] Relying only on the *ḥadīth* material compiled by Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, W. Madelung disagreed with these views and held that these traditions do not allow the suggestion of an Umayyad Syrian origin of the Sufyānīd legend. Rather, the character of the Sufyānī in traditions was elaborated in shi'ite circles as a figure opposed to the Mahdī.[25]

Madelung's views, although extremely precise and conclusive from the point of view of Muslim tradition, fail to explain the historical part of the problem. That there existed an independent Syrian tradition which expected the coming of al-Sufyanī – and which is not necessarily reflected in *ḥadīth* – is shown by the revolt of a certain Sufyānī Abū l-'Amayṭir in Syria in 811. This rebel managed to gather some support among Arab tribal leaders and occupied Damascus until dissensions among his partisans and 'Abbāsid military pressure finally defeated him. Thirty years later, in 842, another Sufyānı emerged in Syria and although this time sources are sceptical about his Umayyad descent, they make it quite clear that he rallied support from peasants who resented the excesses of the 'Abbāsid administration. These and other minor Sufyānī uprisings during the tenth century show the appeal of this figure for Syrian populations.[26]

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[23] W. Madelung, 'The Sufyānī between Tradition and History', *Studia Islamica* 63 (1986), 43.

[24] H. Lammens, 'Le Sofiani heros national des Arabes syriens', in *idem*, *Études sur le siècle des Omeyyades* (Beirut, 1930), 391–408; R. Hartmann, 'Der Sufyānī', in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen Dicata* (Copenhaguen, 1953), 143–50.

[25] Madelung, 'The Sufyānī', 46–8.

[26] al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa l-mulūk* 12: ed. Mj. de Goeje (Leiden, 1881), 830 and 1320. J. Aguadé, 'Messianismus zur Zeit der frühen 'Abbasiden: Das Kitāb al-Fitan des Nu'aym b. Ḥammād', Ph.D. dissertation (Tübingen, 1979). I am deeply indebted to J. Aguadé for allowing me to use his unpublished dissertation and for his illuminating comments and ideas on the contents of this section.

Obviously I am not trying to suggest that there was a belief in the Andalusian 'Abd al-Raḥmān II as the Sufyānī (in fact the Andalusian *amīr* did not belong to the Sufyānī branch of the Umayyad family, but rather to the Marwānid), but it can be suggested that the uprisings of rebels who claimed to be the 'Sufyānī' during and after the upheavals of the 'Abbāsid civil war mirrored the widespread hopes in Syria for a restoration of Umayyad rule. Amongst the Umayyads of this time the one ruling on the other edge of the Mediterranean was, at least in theory, an appealing candidate and it would be tempting to believe that Theophilos was referring to this state of affairs when he hinted that the restoration of the Umayyads might benefit,'on the base of the best arguments, from an unanimous and obliging approval'.

The arrival in Alexandria of Andalusian sea raiders had probably the unexpected effect of fuelling such expectations. The same work by Nu'aym b. Ḥammād recounts a number of apocalyptic traditions which speak of the invasion and destruction of Egypt by foreign peoples.[27] I will not analyse them in detail here, but I think it is noteworthy that, in some of these traditions, Andalusians are mentioned as one of the peoples who will participate in the destruction of Egypt.

In an article published in 1976, J. Aguadé suggested that these traditions were elaborated in the aftermath of the arrival of Andalusians to Alexandria and were the result of the deep impression that this event had left on contemporaries.[28] Fifteen years later, M. Cook assessed the traditions to test J. Schacht's criteria for dating Muslim *ḥadīth* and challenged this view. Applying Schacht's criteria, Cook discovered that the traditions which dealt with the invasion and destruction of Egypt had chains of transmitters (*isnāds*) in which the name of a given transmitter, despite discrepancies in the chain of the transmission, consistently recurred. This is what is called a 'common link', and according to Schachtian criteria the name of this 'common link' should be identified as the traditionist who elaborated the *ḥadīth* in question. In the case of the eschatological traditions referring to the destruction of Egypt the 'common link' is a transmitter called 'Abd Allāh b. Lahī'a, who died in 174/790, a quarter of a century before the arrival of Andalusians in Alexandria. The conclusion according to Cook was obvious: Ibn Lahī'a was the author of these eschatological traditions, but he died well before the arrival of Andalusians in Alexandria; hence 'the apparent relationship between prophecy and event was merely fortuitous'.[29]

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[27] Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *K. al-Fitān*,. ed. Zakkār, 288, 406, 409–10.

[28] J. Aguadé, 'Algunos hadices sobre la ocupación de Alejandría por un grupo de hispanomusulmanes', *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 12 (1976), 159–80.

[29] M. Cook, 'Eschatology and the Dating of Traditions', *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* 1 (Princeton, 1992), 23–47, esp. 26–30.

However, in a slip common amongst students of *ḥadīth*, Cook regarded the traditions as unchangeable when in fact these accounts, particularly in the case of eschatological *ḥadīth*, were constantly evolving. In the case of the traditions I am examining here, this can be demonstrated thanks to the unusual circumstance that we have a papyrus preserved in Heidelberg which collects a number of traditions by Ibn Lahī'a gathered by one of his pupils. Among these traditions there is one which describes a succession of invasions by different peoples who will attack Egypt. This one is almost identical with two traditions preserved by Nu'aym b. Ḥammād; in one case the wording is precisely the same. There is, however, one significant difference: no Andalusians are mentioned in the tradition preserved in the papyrus, whereas the Andalusians occur as one of the invading peoples of Egypt in the tradition compiled by Nu'aym b. Ḥammād.[30] In other words, Ibn Lahī'a was unquestionably the author of a typical prophetic tradition which predicted a number of invasions by foreign peoples in Egypt, but, after 815, someone (Ibn Ḥammād or one of his informants) identified the Andalusians as one of the peoples who would invade that country. The tradition would thereby coincide with the presence of the Andalusian band in Alexandria for several years.

I want to stress again that this does not imply that these particular traditions were known in Constantinople. What I would suggest is that the remarkable appearance of Andalusians in the eastern Mediterranean made a deep impact on contemporaries, who were also aware of the existence of prophecies or hopes concerning the return of the Umayyads at a time of acute crisis in the 'Abbāsid caliphate. This was known in Constantinople, and there is no doubt that the 'books and words of the prophets' mentioned by Theophilos' ambassador in Cordova referred to these or other Muslim traditions which circulated within the 'Abbāsid caliphate and which might be construed as favouring Umayyad expectations. Probably Theophilos did not believe a single word of these traditions but he was quite ready to make use of them. His proposal for an Andalusian expedition to the east with the aim of recovering the caliphate was perhaps a mere fantasy, but as he supported it with arguments drawn from Muslim books and prophecies it was intended to establish a common ideological framework with his would-be ally.

In examining the relations between the Umayyad amirate of al-Andalus and the Byzantine empire – the political formations which dominated the two edges of the Mediterranean – in the ninth century, several conclusions

[30] R.G. Khoury, *'Abd Allāh b. Lahī'a (97-174/715-790): Juge et grand maître de l'école égyptienne* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 303, no. 395; compare with Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *K. al-Fitān*: ed. Zakkār, 409 line 20 and 410 line 6.

can be presented. One of them is rather pessimistic: these relations were very few indeed. If Emperor Theophilos had not sent his embassy to Cordova, such relations would have been virtually non-existent. But the initiative of Constantinople's government brought up a number of common issues, at least in the emperor's view. Central among them was the problem of the Andalusian sea raiders' activities in the Mediterranean. These activities were fostered by the naval weakness of the empire and at a first stage they were only a trouble, though a very persistent one, for Byzantine officials in Sicily. But things changed when a band of these sea raiders landed on Alexandria and later took over Crete, and when other Andalusian bands played an active role in the Aghlabid conquest of Sicily; both episodes showed that these Andalusian raiders could also become conquerors. Their threat was then perceived in Constantinople as a very serious one, particularly at a time when the military fortunes of the empire were at their lowest point after the 'Abbāsid campaign of Amorion. The diplomatic scheme drawn in order to counteract these setbacks was bold: the Andalusian *amīr* was to be lured into an alliance which would provide him with Byzantine support for recovering the land of his ancestors; in exchange for this he would do his best to control or to eliminate Andalusian sea raiders from the Mediterranean. Odd as it seems, this deal was nonetheless based on right as well as on wrong assumptions. Interestingly, the right assumptions were ideological and revealed an accurate perception of the situation in the Islamic east: the recent crisis of the 'Abbāsid caliphate had left in its wake a widespread awareness that big events were about to happen; signs of them were everywhere (the horrors of the civil war, the landing of western peoples in Alexandria, or the coming of the Turks, among many others) and people like Nu'aym b. Ḥammād were busy collecting or elaborating the traditions which announced them. In this breeding ground a restoration of the Umayyad dynasty did not seem impossible, as the 'Sufyānī' revolts of this period in Syria clearly show. These gloomy forecasts for 'Abbāsid rule were known in Constantinople and favoured a diplomatic scheme which was not completely groundless from this point of view. However, even if 'Abd al-Raḥmān II had shown more readiness to take part in Theophilos' projects, the scheme would have been doomed to fail, because it was also based on blatant misconceptions about the political situation in the western Mediterranean: the *amīr* had not a proper fleet and the Andalusian sea raiders did not abide by his authority. These significant details seem not to have been known to the emperor beforehand. His embassy turned out to be a diplomatic failure which reflected how far away the two edges of the Mediterranean were.

17. Byzance et Italie méridionale

Ghislaine Noyé

À l'aube du neuvième siècle, Byzance ne conserve au sud de la péninsule italienne que le Salento, avec Gallipoli et Otrante, et la Calabre méridionale et orientale, dont la frontière avec le duché de Bénévent s'est stabilisée vers le milieu du siècle précédent: elle part de la plaine de Sibari, sorte de marche désertée séparant les montagnes lombardes du Pollino et le massif grec de la Sila, court à l'est de la vallée du Crati jusqu'à Cosenza et rejoint la côte occidentale au nord de la place-forte d'Amantea. Si la flotte du stratège de Sicile intervient encore sur les côtes campaniennes dans les années 810,[1] la Calabre est abandonnée à elle-même depuis l'échec de l'expédition dirigée en 788 contre Bénévent et les Carolingiens.[2] Il faut attendre cent ans pour qu'une armée venue de Constantinople y débarque à nouveau, chassant les Sarrasins qui tenaient depuis près d'un demi-siècle le golfe de Tarente, la vallée du Crati, la majeure partie de la Sila et du littoral tyrrhénien moyen. La frontière est alors reculée vers le nord jusqu'à la vallée du Laos, tandis que la Lucanie orientale est reprise. Le neuvième siècle, un des moins connus de l'histoire de la Calabre, est marqué par la présence des Arabes, dont les colonies atteignent leur plus vaste extension, alors que commencent sur les côtes les raids qui se suivent régulièrement jusqu'à la fin du onzième siècle; mais il voit aussi la conjoncture économique se renverser et, dans les années 880, Byzance fournir son plus gros effort militaire dans la région depuis la guerre contre les Ostrogoths, avant d'entreprendre une ample campagne de restructuration de la défense et du peuplement.

[1] V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari, 1978), 6.

[2] Theoph., 422.

From *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, ed. Leslie Brubaker. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, Great Britain.

Je laisse de côté la Pouille, presqu'entièrement lombarde avant de devenir elle aussi sarrasine en 840,[3] pour tenter de dégager, à partir des structures agricoles et défensives et du renouveau artisanal et commercial, les caractères de l'évolution sociale connue par la Calabre au neuvième siècle et les initiatives publiques dont elle a été le cadre. Il ne sera question ici que de données ou d'interprétations nouvelles, tirées des sources écrites et archéologiques. Les premières deviennent plus nombreuses dans la seconde moitié de la période envisagée: outre les listes conciliaires et autres notices ecclésiastiques, et de brefs passages dans les sources narratives latines, byzantines et arabes, il s'agit d'hagiographies grecques très riches du point de vue qui nous occupe.[4] L'apport de l'archéologie n'est pas moindre: il vient de sondages effectués dans des villes encore occupées, et surtout des fouilles menées depuis 1987 sur le site abandonné de l'évêché de *Scolacium*[5] et dans la 'grande enceinte' de Tiriolo; diverses campagnes de prospection ont également été faites sur les habitats fortifiés byzantins connus dans la province par les sources écrites.

Le contexte événementiel et économique.

La pression lombarde sur le duché de Calabre cesse au début du neuvième siècle grâce à l'anarchie et à la désagrégation interne en principauté de Bénévent. Elle est immédiatement remplacée par la menace sarrasine: la ville de Tauriana est l'objet d'une première tentative de raid – avortée[6] – tandis

[3] La question a déjà été amplement traitée: J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 179 (Rome, 1993).

[4] Les deux livres fondamentaux restent J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)*, BEFAR 90 (Paris, 1904) et celui déjà cité de von Falkenhausen. S'agissant d'ouvrages de synthèse qui privilégient les aspects institutionnels, l'exploitation des sources écrites concernant la Calabre est loin d'y être exhaustive, en ce qui concerne l'histoire économique et sociale bien sûr, mais aussi d'un strict point de vue événementiel; pour une première mise à jour, voir G. Noyé, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands', à paraître dans E. Cuozzo, J.-M. Martin, éds, *Mélanges L.-R. Ménager*, et, du même auteur, 'Popolamento ed habitat', dans S. Tramontana, éd., *Storia della Calabria* III. *Il medioevo*, sous presse.

[5] Commune de Staletti, province de Catanzaro; ce chantier, ainsi que le suivant, ont été menés par l'École française de Rome, en collaboration avec la Surintendance aux antiquités de Reggio de Calabre: voir F. Bougard et G. Noyé, 'Squillace (prov. de Catanzaro)', *MEFRM* 98 (1986), 1195–1212; idem, 'Squillace au Moyen Âge', dans R. Spadea, éd., *Da Skylletion a Scolacium. Il parco archeologico della Roccelletta* (Rome et Reggio de Calabre, 1989), 215–29; G. Noyé, 'Quelques observations sur l'évolution de l'habitat en Calabre du Ve au XIe siècle', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 25 (1988), 57–138; eadem, 'Les villes des provinces d'Apulie-Calabre et de *Bruttium*-Lucanie du IVe au VIe siècle', dans G.P. Brogiolo, éd., *Early Medieval Towns in the Western Mediterranean (4th-9th c.)* (Mantoue, 1996), 97–120.

[6] *Vita S. Phantini confessoris ex codice Vaticano Graeco n.1989 (Basil.XXVIII)*, éd. V. Saletta (Rome, 1963), 70–71.

qu'un *vicus* des environs de Reggio est pillé en 813.[7] Ces expéditions sont le fait de tribus berbères et de pirates andalous, désignés sous le nom de Maures dans les sources, qui échappent au contrôle de l'état idrisside d'une part, du califat de Cordoue de l'autre;[8] elles ne semblent cependant pas avoir de suite: lorsque débute l'invasion de la Sicile en 827, les forces du thème, massées à Syracuse, protègent en effet la Calabre. Les quarante premières années du neuvième siècle sont donc une période de tranquillité pour le duché, dans le cadre d'une administration 'thématique' bien établie.

La moitié méridionale de la province bénéficie vraisemblablement de cet état de fait jusqu'en 887–88, mais le reste du pays souffre de l'installation, au nord, en 839–40, de colonies musulmanes: celle de Bari lance des incursions vers le sud;[9] celle de Tarente étend – dès les années 847–48 sans doute – sa domination sur la Calabre lombarde, atteignant au sud-ouest Amantea, qui devient le siège d'un émirat;[10] la ligne de défense constituée dès le septième siècle par le duché de Bénévent sur sa frontière méridionale, notamment dans la vallée du Crati, a cédé. Entre 851 et 861, des groupes envoyés par mer de la Sicile s'accrochent en outre à Tropea;[11] enfin Santa Severina, sur le versant tyrrhénien de la Sila, est également occupée. Ce qu'il faut retenir est que tout le pays est probablement tenu par les Sarrasins au nord de l'isthme de Catanzaro, où le vieux barrage fortifié de Justinien s'est pour la dernière fois révélé fonctionnel;[12] ils n'ont aucun intérêt à s'y priver de main-d'oeuvre servile et de sources de ravitaillement dans les pays qu'ils occupent. Les régions les plus éprouvées sont donc les marges,[13] la Calabre septentrionale en particulier, et celles où l'on s'est battu, lors de la campagne calabraise de Louis II en 871–73 ou lors de la reconquête grecque, c'est-à-dire principalement la Sila.[14] Ainsi s'expliquent les conditions

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[7] Lettre de pape Léon III: *MGH Epistolae* 5 (Berlin, 1899), 85–104, 98.

[8] P. Guichard, 'Les débuts de la piraterie andalouse en Méditerranée occidentale (798–813)', *Revue d'histoire de l'occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 35/1 (1983), 55–76.

[9] Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum: MGH, Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum saec. VI–IX*, éd. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1878), 231–65, 242.

[10] U. Westerbergh, *Chronicon Salernitanum. A critical edition with studies on literary and historical sources and on language*, Studia Latina Stockholmensia 3 (Stockholm et Lund, 1956), 79–80; Andreas Bergomatis, *Historia: MGH, Scriptores rerum langobardicum et italicarum saec. VI-IX*, éd. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1878), 220–30, 227.

[11] Ibn al-Atir, dans M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula* II (Turin, 1881), 353–507, 376.

[12] Les sources insistent sur l'étendue des territoires et le nombre de *kastra* concernés (*Chronicon Salernitanum*, édn Westerbergh, 104; Erchempert, *Historia*, édn *MGH*, 257); si seules Amantea, Tropea et Santa Severina sont mentionnées, c'est qu'il s'agit des principales places-fortes, qui ont offert le plus de résistance aux Byzantins.

[13] Sur ce point et pour une description idyllique de la moisson dans la vallée du Crati: Andreas Bergomatis, *Historia*, édn *MGH*, 227.

[14] Erchempert, *Historia*, édn *MGH*, 256; voir Noyé, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands'.

favorables qu'on observe dans la vallée du Crati encore occupée, et plus tard la politique démographique de Léon VI.

La reconquête[15] est en effet suivie d'un 'incastellamento d'État', qui est d'abord une affirmation symbolique de la puissance byzantine, mais fournit aussi le cadre d'une opération de repeuplement et d'hellénisation des pays libérés, tout en assurant la défense de l'ensemble des zones stratégiques.[16] En Calabre, il concerne d'abord la Sila, où apparaissent les évêchés d'Umbriatico, Cerenzia et Isola capo Rizzuto, tandis que Santa Severina, restaurée sous le nom significatif de 'Nicopolis' et peuplée d'Arméniens et d'affranchis grecs, devient métropole;[17] aux portes de la province, bientôt transformée en thème, le site de Rossano abrite désormais un *kastron* épiscopal;[18] la ligne de fortifications qui barre l'isthme de Catanzaro est restaurée et complétée par la création de *Neokastron* (= Nicastro); enfin il semble qu'une sorte de *limes* soit alors établi face à la Sicile en voie d'arabisation, avec l'érection, à la fin du siècle ou au début du siècle suivant, des forteresses de Pentedattilo et *Petra Kaukas*.

Dans le domaine rural et artisanal, le fait essentiel a été pour la Calabre le passage, au septième siècle, d'une agriculture qui s'était spécialisée, aux fins d'exportation, dans la production de vin et du bois puis du blé, et dans l'élevage des boeufs, et de l'industrie 'capitaliste' (la fabrication d'amphores et de toutes les autres terres cuites) qui y était liée, à un régime d'autosubsistance. Les *possessores* qui régissaient la vie économique de la province autant que son administration ont en effet été décimés par la guerre ostrogothique puis par l'invasion lombarde qui l'a suivie. La petite exploitation rurale, unité de base du grand domaine qui l'avait absorbée, a pu alors renaître sous sa forme juridique d'origine. Et le *vicus*, qui prédominait dans une bonne partie de l'Italie méridionale depuis le quatrième siècle[19] et constituait déjà souvent, par suite de l'effacement des

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[15] Il est inutile de s'attarder sur les péripéties désormais bien connues; je laisse également de côté la question de la vallée du Crati, pour laquelle je renvoie à J.-M. Martin et G. Noyé, 'Les campagnes de l'Italie méridionale byzantine (Xe–XIe siècles)', *MEFRM* 101 (1989), 559–96 et, des mêmes auteurs, 'Les villes de l'Italie méridionale byzantine (IXe–XIe siècles)', dans V. Kravari, J. Lefort et C. Morrisson, éds, *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin* II. *VIIIe–XVe siècle*, Réalités byzantines 3 (Paris, 1991), 27–62.

[16] Les références sont indiquées dans Noyé, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands'.

[17] J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), 283 (notice 7).

[18] Aucune trouvaille erratique ou structure n'y est, dans l'état actuel des recherches, antérieure aux neuvième–dixième siècles: L. Altomare et A. Coscarella, *Rossano e il suo territorio. Un progetto di musealizzazione all'aperto* (Cosenza, 1991).

[19] La concentration de la population y est un processus ancien, en partie spontané, que les grands propriétaires ont encouragé et que la croissance de l'insécurité a accéléré à partir du cinquième siècle.

cités, une circonscription fiscale dans le cadre du *pagus*, a connu ensuite, comme ailleurs dans l'empire byzantin, une prospérité certaine.

La restructuration de la propriété s'est achevée dans le second tiers du huitième siècle: Léon III a rétabli la perception directe des taxes dans les domaines du patrimoine de Saint-Pierre en 731,[20] puis lui-même, ou son fils, en a aussi bloqué les loyers et les rentes, dont le montant devait égaler ou dépasser le revenu fiscal, une opération présentée par la papauté, dans les premières réclamations qu'elle adresse au *basileus* à partir de 785, comme une conséquence de l'iconoclasme.[21] Peut-être, mais rien ne le prouve,[22] la *coemptio* du blé est-elle alors remplacée par un impôt foncier en nature; l'hypothèse la plus plausible est qu'en raison des problèmes posés au septième siècle par le ravitaillement de la *militia*, une partie des terres ainsi récupérées ait été concédée aux soldats, surtout dans des régions en cours de colonisation comme la *massa* de la Sila.[23] L'administration de la Calabre par Byzance ne semble en effet pas avoir été un vain mot: les rôles d'imposition y sont mis à jour après le milieu du septième siècle, puis dans les années 730, alors que semble y être déjà introduit le *kapnikon*.[24]

L'histoire économique des zones restées byzantines suit pour le reste les phases de la conjoncture générale en Italie, mais avec un net décalage: ainsi la crise ne s'y développe-t-elle qu'à partir de la seconde moitié du septième siècle, sous l'effet des guerres incessantes contre les Lombards, et culmine-t-elle au milieu du siècle suivant avec une des dernières vagues de l'épidémie de peste.[25] Ces phénomènes sont responsables de l'abandon d'un certain

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[20] Theoph., 410–11.

[21] P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum ... MCXCVIII*, 2e édn par G. Wattenbach, S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner et P. Ewald (Leipzig, 1885–88; réimpr. anast. Graz, 1956), 2448; si André Guillou a eu raison de souligner le sens des premières mesures de Léon III, une réelle confiscation les a bien suivies assez rapidement: A. Guillou, 'La Sicilia bizantina: un bilancio delle ricerche attuali', *Archivio storico siracusano* n.s. 4/5 (1975), 45–89.

[22] *Infra*, note 24.

[23] L'élevage transhumant y est désorganisé par l'invasion lombarde; dès le septième siècle des agriculteurs s'y regroupent sur des hauteurs (à Santa Severina, cf. R. Spadea *et al.*, 'Il castello di Santa Severina: primi dati archeologici', à paraître dans les actes du colloque *Società e insediamenti in Italia meridionale nell'età dei Normanni. Il caso della Calabria [Roccelletta di Borgia, 1994]*), tandis que des *fundi* y sont concédés en emphytéose (Jaffé, *Regesta*, 2195).

[24] Les *phorous képhalikous* de 731, cf. J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century. The transformation of a culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 132 et 141–4. Il est cependant difficile de voir dans les *annonocapita* mentionnées en 685–6 et 686–7 (*Liber Pontificalis* I, éd. L. Duchesne [Paris, 1884], 366 et 369) la réapparition d'un impôt foncier: l'administration pontificale s'est en effet toujours chargée depuis la fin du sixième siècle de la *coemptio* des grains et sans doute du vin avec le produit de l'annone 'adhérisée', ainsi que de la *comparatio* (achat du surplus des colons avec le montant de leurs *pensiones*); elle en verse chaque année au fisc un pourcentage qui varie en fonction des besoins publics locaux et transporte le reste vers Rome: *S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum libri I–XIV*, *CCSL* 140, éd. D. Norberg (Turnhout, 1982), Ep. 1, 2 et 42 et 9, 116; *Liber Pontificalis* I, éd. Duchesne, 366 et 369.

[25] Theoph., 422; cf. J.-N. Biraben et J. Le Goff, 'La peste dans le haut Moyen Âge', *Annales* 24 (1969), 1484–1510.

nombre de *chôria* du littoral ionien, alors que des évêchés disparaissent à la même époque pour des raisons politiques (la fixation de la frontière dans la plaine de Sibari pour Thurii, la désaffection de la route suivant la vallée du Noce vers la mer Tyrrhénienne pour Blanda[26]). On ne peut parler de désertion des côtes en tant que telles avant l'intensification des raids sarrasins à la fin du neuvième et surtout au dixième siècle. Mais l'exemple de la Sicile a déjà pu orienter le choix, par les autorités, de sites légèrement en retrait par rapport à la mer pour certaines fondations du huitième siècle (Hagia Kuriakè, Santa Severina); cependant si cette option est liée à une relance de la colonisation agraire – ce qui est probable au moins pour la seconde de ces villes – il s'agit d'un premier signe de reprise.

Les indices sont plus nets et nombreux au neuvième siècle. La population augmente: les *chôria*, qui n'étaient guère mentionnés dans les premières hagiographies, se multiplient dans la *Vie de saint Elie le spéléote*;[27] quelques *kastra* jusque-là retranchés, comme celui de Gerace, sur d'étroites dorsales rocheuses sont flanqués de faubourgs;[28] celui de Tauriana semble également densément habité.[29] Enfin le fait que Nicéphore Ier rapatrie les réfugiés de Patras ne serait guère compatible avec le vide démographique perceptible au cours du siècle précédent. C'est d'abord la céréaliculture qui se développe, grâce au voisinage ou à la présence des Sarrasins:[30] elle n'est pas seulement attestée en effet sur les plateaux fertiles et arrosés de Tauriana[31] et dans la vallée des Salines,[32] mais aussi dans des zones *a priori* peu favorables comme l'extrémité méridionale de la péninsule,[33] ou

[26] Noyé, 'Quelques observations', 99–104 et 128–30; eadem, 'Popolamento ed habitat'.

[27] Plus de la moitié de ceux qui sont connus au onzième siècle grâce au cartulaire de la cathédrale de Hagia-Agathè y sont déjà mentionnés: A. Guillou, *La théotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)*, Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile 3 (Cité du Vatican, 1972).

[28] Les traces d'occupation apparaissent alors à l'emplacement de l'agglomération actuelle de Gerace, sous les églises des onzième–douzième siècles (C. Lebole di Gangi et G. di Gangi, 'Scavi a Gerace', dans *Società e insediamenti*).

[29] On se déplace à cheval à l'intérieur et la vie de Pancrace cite plus de dix maisons (*Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 53 et 70–71).

[30] Ceux-ci sont tôt présents en Calabre (*Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 71); certains refusent de quitter Amantea après sa reddition (H. Grégoire, 'La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas', dans *Mélanges Kuriakidès* (Thessalonique, 1953), 232–54, 252) et on y trouve encore des traces de leur présence au onzième siècle (des inscriptions en arabe) de même qu'à Santa Severina, où semble avoir été construite une mosquée (R. Spadea *et al.*, 'Il castello di Santa Severina: primi dati archeologici', dans *Società e insediamenti*; les autres informations m'ont été aimablement fournes par Elena Lattanzi, Surintendante archéologique de la Calabre).

[31] *Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 40–42 et 68–9.

[32] *Vita et conversatio S. patris nostri Eliae Spelaeotae*, *AASS*, Sept. III, cols 848–87, 874B (un grenier dans le *chôrion* de *Caberôn*) et 883B (du blé et une aire à battre le grain dans le *chôrion* de *Sicro* = Crisoni).

[33] *Infra*, note 35 et Noyé, 'Popolamento ed habitat' (au milieu du onzième siècle, Bova est une des principales zones céréalicoles).

écologiquement fragiles comme la vallée du Crati. Le phénomène est certainement lié aux fluctuations des frontières politiques: l'invasion lombarde a coupé le sud de ses sources d'approvisionnement et sa reconversion forcée a dû être facilitée par le recul de la vigne, conséquence de l'arrêt des exportations de vin et de la disparition des établissements producteurs de la côte.[34] De même, leurs colonies tyrrhéniennes sont choisies par les Sarrasins pour d'évidentes raisons stratégiques; mais si le Porro est un véritable grenier, seule la vallée du Crati peut ravitailler Amantea. Cet essor repose donc sur la maîtrise des techniques hydrauliques, drainage au nord, irrigation au sud;[35] il est en tout cas rapide: en 901–02, Reggio regorge de farine[36] et le stockage des réserves dans un des seuls ports encore fonctionnels suggère l'hypothèse d'une exportation, d'ailleurs bien attestée quelque cinquante ans plus tard.[37] Enfin l'esclavage fournit la main-d'oeuvre de base.[38]

Le rééquilibrage des productions obligeait les habitants à développer l'oléiculture, presque absente dans l'antiquité tardive où l'huile arrivait de Tunisie, au moins pour satisfaire à leurs propres besoins: dès le début du huitième siècle, des *fundi* concédés en emphytéose dans la Sila sont flanqués d'une oliveraie.[39] De même l'élevage du mouton et du porc s'est développé au détriment de celui des bovins qui assuraient l'annone.[40] L'importance du cheval en revanche ne semble pas avoir diminué dans la moitié méridionale de la province où il est déjà bien attesté au sixième siècle: peu consommé, il est très présent dans la vie quotidienne de la ville de Tauriana et de ses environs, où sont élevés des troupeaux; lié à la vie de l'élite pour la chasse, c'est un moyen de déplacement individuel courant.[41] La pêche assure une bonne partie de l'alimentation (en pétoncles notamment); le nom enfin de Salines, donné au bassin du Petrace depuis le septième siècle au moins, indique que le sel y est déjà extrait.[42]

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[34] La remise en culture d'une vigne détruite est coûteuse.

[35] De nombreux champs et parcelles plantées en vigne sont irrigués au milieu du onzième siècle: A. Guillou, *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Reggio (vers 1050)*, Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile 4 (Cité du Vatican, 1972).

[36] Ibn al-Atir, éd. Amari, 402.

[37] Jean Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, *CFHB* 5, éd. H. Thurn (Berlin et New York, 1972), 265–6.

[38] *Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 70–71; Andreas Bergomatis, *Historia*, édn *MGH*, 227; *Vita et conversatio*, édn. *AASS*, 884E.

[39] Jaffé, *Regesta*, 2195.

[40] C'est ce que révèle le pourcentage des différentes espèces sur les sites de Scribla et de *Scolacium*.

[41] Sur tous ces points, *Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 40–42, 53, 55 et 61.

[42] Des salines y sont citées au milieu du onzième siècle (Guillou, *La théotokos*, 140); les premières mentions de la vallée des Salines se trouvent dans la vie de saint Pancrace.

Dans le domaine artisanal, l'importance des mines calabraises suffirait à expliquer l'intérêt persistant de Byzance pour la région.[43] L'extraction des métaux précieux n'a probablement jamais cessé dans les Serres depuis le sixième siècle:[44] Reggio leur doit sa richesse aux septième et huitième siècles[45] et les Sarrasins les trouvent encore en grande quantité lorsqu'ils pillent la ville en 901.[46] Les opérations de reconquête et de fortification entreprises par Constant II étaient peut-être liées au ravitaillement en or de l'atelier de Syracuse. L'orfèvrerie traditionnelle locale, après une éclipse, est de nouveau attestée au neuvième siècle:[47] des 'bratteate', lames discoïdales au décor en relief recouvert d'or sont travaillées à Siderno; la fabrication de ces fibules aux motifs hellénisants est stimulée par la demande d'une aristocratie en plein essor.[48]

Les mines de cuivre et de calcopyrite des Serres alimentent également depuis le Bas-Empire les fours installés sur le littoral; à Reggio même, l'atelier de bronzier fabricant des armes[49] se replie au huitième siècle à l'intérieur des murs; les installations de Decastadium, sur la rive droite du Melito, fonctionnent jusqu'aux dixième et onzième siècles.[50] Enfin le choix par les Sarrasins d'un des quelques sites où la métallurgie est attestée de manière certaine au haut Moyen Âge (Santa Severina)[51] n'est certainement pas dû au hasard. La stratigraphie de *Scolacium*, première séquence

[43] Les plus anciennes et plus importantes forteresses, Tiriolo, où le travail du métal est bien attesté et Pian della Tirrena-Temesa, sont proches de gisements; une carte de ces derniers est publiée par M. Guarascio, 'Un contributo di dati e metodi della ricerca geomineraria in archeologia: il caso di *Temesa*', dans G. Maddoli, éd., *Temesa e il suo territorio*, Magna Grecia 2 (Tarente, 1982), 125–42.

[44] Cassiodorus, *Variae* 9, 3 (éd. A. Fridh, *CCSL* 96); F. Cuteri, 'Modi di occupazione del territorio nella Calabria normanna', dans *Società e insediamenti*; Noyé, 'Popolamento ed habitat'.

[45] A.N. Veselovsky, 'Iz istorii romana i povesti (= 'Sur l'histoire du roman et du récit'), II. Epizod o Tavri i Menii v apokrificeskom zitii sv. Pankrahtiia', dans *Sbornik otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovenosti imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* 40, 2 (1886), 73–110 à 103; cette source très fiable, écrite au huitième siècle sur une trame événementielle de la seconde moitié du siècle précédent n'a été que peu utilisée, cf. M. Van Esbroeck et U. Zanetti, 'Le dossier hagiographique de S. Pancrace de Taormine', dans S. Pricoco, éd., *Storia della Sicilia e tradizione agiografica nella tarda antichità* (Soveria Manelli, 1988), 155–71. Le héros mythique Tauros y est inspiré de Constant II, et ses faits et gestes peuvent être attribués à l'empereur (Noyé, 'Popolamento ed habitat').

[46] Ibn al-Atir, éd. Amari, 402.

[47] Noyé, 'Popolamento ed habitat'.

[48] Celle de Rossano figure saint Théodore: Altomare et Coscarella, *Rossano*.

[49] Il était implanté auparavant entre la ville et la mer: A.M. Ardovino, 'Edifici ellenistici e romani ed assetto territoriale a nord-ovest delle mura di Reggio', *Klearchos* 19 (1977), 75–112.

[50] L. Costamagna, 'La sinagoga di Bova Marina nel quadro degli insediamenti tardoantichi della costa ionica meridionale della Calabria', *MEFRM* 103 (1991), 611–30.

[51] F. Cuteri, 'La Calabria nell'alto Medioevo', dans R. Francovich et G. Noyé, éds, *La storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia* (Sienne, 1994), 339–59, 351.

calabraise complète entre le septième et les onzième-douzième siècles, montre d'autre part qu'une augmentation progressive de la céramique, doublée d'une diversification des types et d'une amélioration de la technique, succède au trou noir de la fin du septième et du huitième siècles.

La *Vie de saint Fantin* donne de Tauriana l'image d'une population affairée, dont l'activité ne se cantonne pas à l'agriculture; les mouvements d'argent, fondés sur une instrumentation écrite, semblent courants et portent sur de grosses sommes;[52] les déplacements y sont fréquents. Le renouveau de l'industrie céramique indique d'ailleurs l'existence d'un surplus pour l'achat de vaisselle de table. La présence de Juifs et de Syriens, fait marquant des sixième-septième siècles, semble s'être maintenue: un usurier est mentionné; on ignore cependant tout des activités marchandes des Syriens au neuvième siècle.[53] Le commerce de luxe, qui n'a jamais vraiment cessé depuis l'antiquité tardive, ne dépasse guère le bas niveau auquel il était réduit au huitième siècle: les céramiques glaçurées ('vetrina pesante' de Campanie, exemplaires de Corinthe et du Moyen Orient) arrivent toujours en très petites quantités aux notables de Reggio, Crotone, Tropea ou *Scolacium*.[54] Ce sont la traite des esclaves et leur vente aux Arabes d'Afrique et d'Orient qui raniment les échanges à longue distance; les guerres, les expéditions de pillage sur les côtes fournissent la matière première aux Sarrasins;[55] mais les raids sont aussi le fait de chrétiens.[56] L'esclavage chez les infidèles fait souvent partie des premières expériences des saints (saint Fantin le Jeune).

Habitat et fortifications

Textes et archéologie montrent que la morphologie des habitats ne change guère entre le sixième et la fin du neuvième siècle. Les *chôria* sont implantés sur les pentes ou au sommet de hauteurs; bien qu'ils ne soient pas en principe fortifiés avant le onzième siècle,[57] leurs sites constituent souvent

[52] Le reçu qui est délivré est archivé dans des volumes de parchemin formés de *tomoi*; le débiteur insolvable risque d'être vendu avec tous les siens; un usurier prête trois *nomismata* (*Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 51–2 et 55).

[53] L'usurier et un médecin syrien demeurent à Tauriana (*Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 55 et 58); pour les siècles précédents, voir G. Noyé, 'Villes, économie et société dans la province de *Bruttium*-Lucanie du IVe au VIIe siècle', dans R. Francovich et G. Noyé, éds, *La storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI–X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia* (Sienne, 1994), 693–733.

[54] A. Racheli, 'Reggio Calabria, ex-stazione Lido', dans L. Paroli, éd., *La ceramica invetriata tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia* (Florence, 1992), 525–34; Cuteri, 'La Calabria'; C. Lebole di Gangi et G. di Gangi, 'Tropea: saggi nel Palazzo vescovile', dans *Società e insediamenti*.

[55] *Vita di sant'Elia il Giovane*, éd. G. Rossi-Taibbi (Palerme, 1962), 84–5 et 88–9.

[56] *Vita di sant'Elia*, éd. Rossi-Taibbi, 14; Erchempert, *Historia*, édn *MGH*, 264.

[57] Celui de Boutzanon, connu dès le neuvième siècle (*Vita et conversatio*, édn *AASS*, 855C), est défendu, dans les années 1050, par un *purgos*; on ignore la date de construction de cette tour, sans doute liée à son statut de *droungos* (Guillou, *La théotokos*, 63, 83 et 99).

une véritable défense naturelle.[58] À partir du milieu du neuvième siècle, ils sont d'autre part régulièrement implantés, comme les villes, à plusieurs kilomètres de la mer: ceux de la vallée des Salines se trouvent ainsi à mi-distance entre le littoral et les *kastra*-refuges de Hagia Agatè et Hagia Kristinè. Le *chôrion* regroupe des maisons de bois ou de terre crue, construites sur des poteaux plantés dans la roche, et des greniers.[59] Il s'agit parfois de plusieurs noyaux de grottes disséminés autour d'une colline et comprenant des habitats, des étables et des granges, ainsi qu'un ou plusieurs sanctuaires.[60] Ces habitats se développent au neuvième siècle: cinq grottes sont alors aménagées à Santa Severina; au tournant du siècle suivant la population des plus importants d'entre eux[61] comprend, outre les agriculteurs, un prêtre, des notables (l'un possède un esclave domestique; d'autres reçoivent des importations d'outre-mer) et des marchands.[62]

La survie des *chôria* est liée à l'existence de refuges. Dès la seconde moitié du sixième siècle, les vastes enceintes pré-romaines de hauteur ont été restaurées par les autorités impériales dans les zones désurbanisées de l'intérieur montagneux ou de la côte tyrrhénienne moyenne. Défendues par des pentes abruptes, souvent des à-pics rocheux et entourées d'un mur périphérique, elles furent en outre flanquées d'une forteresse, sorte de vaste place d'armes pourvue de citernes et de sa propre enceinte, à laquelle étaient adossés de grands logements de garnison.[63] Conçues d'abord comme pôles administratifs et points d'appui d'unités de l'armée, elles servent aussi rapidement de refuge pour les populations rurales des alentours contre les Lombards, puis surtout contre les Sarrasins.[64] Ces établissements, qui se multiplient en Calabre au neuvième siècle, sont aussi le siège d'habitats permanents, qui donnent souvent naissance à de véritables villes.[65]

[58] Le cas d'Armo est assez frappant pour que l'hagiographe le signale (*Vita et conversatio*, édn. *AASS*, 855C).

[59] C'est le cas de Santa Severina au septième siècle (Spadea *et al.*, *Il castello di Santa Severina*); *Vita et conversatio*, édn. *AASS*, 874B.

[60] Ainsi de Rossano et de ses environs aux septième–huitième siècles: Altomare et Coscarella, 'Rossano e il suo territorio'.

[61] L'un est qualifié de 'grand' (*Vita et conversatio*, édn. *AASS*, 884E).

[62] Un marchand d'esclaves à Armo, dans le pays de Reggio: ibid., 855C.

[63] À Tiriolo, au centre de l'isthme de Catanzaro: G. Noyé et C. Raimondo, 'Saggi sul Monte Tiriolo', dans *Società e insediamenti*, et à Pian della Tirrena (= Temesa), sur la côte tyrrhénienne.

[64] C'est sans doute à ce type de fortification que font allusion, pour la Sicile, les 'Gesta episcoporum neapolitanorum' (*MGH, Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum saec. VI–IX*, éd. G. Waitz [Hanover, 1878], 419) à propos des habitants fuyant, vers le milieu du septième siècle, *per munitissima castra et iuga;* puis Ibn al-Atir mentionnant la restauration, cent ans plus tard, des *castra* et des forteresses (éd. Amari, 354).

[65] Hagia Christinè (*Vita di sant'Elia*, éd. Rossi-Taibbi, 64–5; *Vita et conversatio*, édn. *AASS*, 867B) et Cerenzia, haut plateau isolé aux flancs rocheux presque verticaux, qui domine un vaste secteur de la Sila.

Justinien puis ses successeurs, à l'occasion de chaque retour en force de Byzance en Italie du sud, construisent aussi des *kastra* de caractère désormais médiéval. Les villes antiques d'importance moyenne qui s'élevaient sur la côte meurent en effet à partir du cinquième siècle de l'ensablement de leur port, de l'oppression des *possessores* et de leurs faibles défenses naturelles. Ainsi *Scolacium*, un des premiers évêchés du *Bruttium*, situé dans la plaine longeant le littoral ionien, à quelques kilomètres au sud de Catanzaro: après une phase de ruralisation et de désagrégation du tissu urbain, les dernières traces d'occupation y disparaissent au tournant des sixième et septième siècles. L'évêché s'est alors déjà transféré à quelque distance, dans la nouvelle ville fortifiée sur la pointe sud du promontoire de Staletti, dans une position stratégique qui contrôle l'ensemble du golfe de Squillace.

La *Vie de saint Pancrace de Taormine* précise les modalités de l'opération en Calabre et en Sicile aux septième-huitième siècles. Après avoir trouvé un emplacement (= le sommet d'une hauteur) de dimensions satisfaisantes, on construit d'abord un *praitôrion*, sorte d'arsenal où est conservé le trésor, puis un aqueduc et de vastes citernes. On élève alors une enceinte maçonnée sur le périmètre choisi (= le pourtour du plateau sommital) et on y stocke, dans des silos, le blé livré par les populations des environs; enfin on l'orne de bains et de luxueuses maisons destinées à y attirer l'aristocratie. Les choses se sont bien passées ainsi à *Scolacium*, où le *praitôrion* est une acropole dominant la ville logée en contrebas sur un replat de la pente et entourée de son propre mur. Il englobe des édifices administratifs, la cathédrale, une place et quelques maisons; sa défense doit être assurée à l'origine par les habitants, notamment par ceux qui occupent les tours de flanquement de l'enceinte. Enfin une canalisation souterraine, qui apporte l'eau depuis la montagne, se divise à l'intérieur en plusieurs ramifications dirigées vers des réservoirs.

La fouille a montré que l'ensemble de ces dispositifs se maintenaient à *Scolacium* jusqu' en plein neuvième siècle, en dépit d'un appauvrissement marqué, durant le haut Moyen Âge, par des sols de terre battue, à l'intérieur des maisons et dans les espaces de circulation. Le *praitôrion* prend cependant, à l'intérieur des villes plus tardives, la forme d'une aire délimitée par une courtine périphérique, qui protège en général le côté le plus vulnérable de l'établissement. Celui qui est construit dans la cité de Vaccarizza, en Capitanate, entre la fin du neuvième et le dixième siècle occupe une zone surélevée par rapport au reste de l'agglomération, et l'épaisseur de son mur d'enceinte renforce son aspect de citadelle.[66] Ces créations urbaines régulièrement échelonnées dans le temps[67] ne sont souvent que les

[66] G. Noyé, 'Vaccarizza (commune de Troia, province de Foggia)', *MEFRM* 109 (1997).

[67] La Calabre n'a jamais connu de véritable 'désaffection' des autorités à l'égard des villes.

'refondations', au même endroit ou sur un site défensif proche, de villes décadentes ou partiellement détruites.[68] Mais, dans tous les cas, les sites choisis sont déjà occupés: la nouvelle *Scolacium*, dont l'enceinte est partiellement fondée sur un mur pré-romain, est au départ, comme plus tard Santa Severina, un village agricole et artisanal.

Les villes sont le cadre privilégié de l'hellénisation, dont l'aristocratie est dès l'origine le principal vecteur. C'est dans ce creuset que s'opère de manière continue la fusion entre les fonctionnaires grecs, qui acquièrent des terres en Italie méridionale et s'y établissent définitivement, et l'élite locale nivelée par le bas. L'apport d'éléments orientaux semble en effet s'être renouvelé,[69] encouragé par les empereurs qui canalisent en outre d'une manière générale la noblesse vers les villes. Dès les années 660, alors que la politique anti-romaine est déjà en gestation,[70] Constant II restaure dans la vallée des Salines à peine reconquise l'évêché de Tauriana et y fonde la ville de Hagia Agathè (future Oppido);[71] il y construit ou attribue, dans la première notamment, des 'palais' aux *megistasin*,[72] et tente d'attirer en Italie du sud des aristocrates constantinopolitains.[73] Léon III fait sans doute de même en leur donnant des domaines récupérés sur la papauté.[74]

On assiste alors à la première véritable campagne d'hellénisation, destinée à détacher de Rome et des Carolingiens cette dernière base 'continentale', encore très latine, d'une future reconquête. Dans la seconde moitié du huitième siècle, un éparque, grec sans doute, du nom de Théodore, est avec l'archevêque de Reggio le promoteur de la construction, à Hagia Sévèrinè (= Santa Severina), de l'église ensuite transformée en baptistère.[75] Le terme

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[68] C'est, pendant toute la période byzantine en Italie méridionale, un trait constant de ce que les textes présentent comme des fondations 'ex-nihilo'.

[69] Déjà aux sixième–septième siècles, des groupes d'agriculteurs plus ou moins militarisés semblent avoir été installés sous l'autorité d'officiers sur des sites stratégiques de la côte orientale; c'est ce que suggèrent les nécropoles rurales où s'observent quelques tombes de personnages plus riches, culturellement proches de la Dalmatie, de la Grèce ou de la capitale; voir R. Spadea, 'Problemi del territorio fra tardoantico e medioevo', *MEFRM* 103 (1991), 553–73; pour la Lucanie, Noyé, 'Quelques observations'.

[70] Elle est déjà très présente dans la vie de saint Pancrace.

[71] Le *palaion kastron*, le seul que mentionne dans cette région la vie de saint Pancrace, correspond sans doute au site urbain – désigné de la même façon – qui est abandonné vers le milieu du onzième siècle pour l'emplacement de l'établissement médiéval, lui-même détruit à la fin du dix-huitième siècle: Guillou, *La théotokos*, 47.

[72] *Supra*, note 45.

[73] P. Corsi, *La spedizione italiana di Costante II*, Il mondo medievale, sezione di storia bizantina e slava 5 (Bologne, 1983).

[74] Dans une lettre de 860, le pape accuse le *basileus* d'avoir distribué le patrimoine de Saint-Pierre à ses *familiares*: P.F. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum. Italia Pontificia* 10. *Calabria-Insulae*, W. Holtzmann, D. Girgensohn, éds (Paris, 1980), 13.

[75] Le fait est connu par une inscription: V. Laurent, 'À propos de la métropole de Santa Severina en Calabre', *REB* 22 (1964), 176–83.

d'éparchie, s'il est parfois employé en Italie au sens de duché,[76] désigne surtout une subdivision de ce dernier;[77] or la campagne édilitaire dont fait alors l'objet ce *chôrion* déjà vieux d'un siècle de la part des autorités civiles et religieuses du duché, doit inclure la construction d'une enceinte maçonnée. La fouille de la nécropole, qui flanque une autre église construite en pierre au même moment, a d'autre part montré que la communauté comportait un notable:[78] l'éparque, Théodore ou un autre, a pu résider au siège de son district administratif, dans la ville alors refondée[79] qui apparaît comme *kastron* dans les textes du neuvième siècle. L'évêché de Locres quitte alors la côte pour un plateau rocheux situé à quelques kilomètres à l'intérieur des terres et prend le nom significatif de Hagia Kuriakè.[80]

D'autres aspects de l'hellénisation de la Calabre méritent qu'on s'y attarde: ainsi la cohésion et le dynamisme culturels remarquables des groupes grecs et orientaux qui s'y sont réfugiés, surtout au sud de l'isthme de Catanzaro. La population de Patras, installée dans la *chôra* de Reggio en 587–8, forme encore un groupe bien individualisé lorsque Nicéphore Ier donne l'ordre de la réinstaller dans sa ville d'origine, en même temps que son évêque Athanase;[81] s'il n'y a pas eu assimilation, c'est donc que l'acculturation a joué en sens inverse. Les liens avec la Syrie sont d'autre part aussi étroits que ceux de la Sicile[82] et se maintiennent au neuvième siècle.[83] Les déplacements des clercs et des marchands entre les deux bassins méditerranéens[84] et ceux qu'entraîne le rattachement administratif à la Sicile[85] redeviennent alors aussi fréquents qu'ils l'étaient dans l'antiquité tardive. Ce processus, que contribuent à ralentir les incessantes guerres lombardes, est achevé à la fin du huitième siècle. Les évêques calabrais, dont deux seulement maîtrisaient la langue grecque un siècle auparavant,[86] se

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[76] Au concile romain de 680 par exemple (*PL* 87: 1232).

[77] Ainsi dans les hagiographies, la *Vita S. Pancracii* en particulier; cf. Noyé, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands', note 163.

[78] L'édifice a été mis au jour sous le château normand.

[79] Le choix du toponyme, inspiré de Sibérinè cité par Étienne de Byzance semble une référence à l'antiquité, qui se retrouve dans les fondations impériales du milieu du onzième siècle: *Stephani Byzantii ethnicorum quae supersunt ex recensione A. Meinekii* (Graz, 1958), 563.

[80] Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 7.

[81] P. Lemerle, 'La chronique dite de Monemvasie; le contexte historique et légendaire', *REB* 21 (1963), 5–49.

[82] Veselovskii, 'Iz istorii', 82.

[83] *Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 58.

[84] Les moines voyagent constamment: *Vita et conversatio*, passim; voir aussi *Vita S. Phantini* (présence d'un moine étranger à Tauriana dont un des évêques a voyagé par bateau; au début du neuvième siècle, l'évêque Pierre est envoyé à Byzance avec un de ses diacres et des Siciliens pour régler des problèmes administratifs).

[85] Pour les litiges portés devant le *kritès* de Syracuse par exemple (ibid.).

[86] En 680: ce témoignage d'inculture est, pour le pape Agathon, une conséquence des troubles (*Liber Pontificalis* I, éd. Duchesne, 350).

rendent tous au concile nicéen de 787. La longue domination des Lombards et des Sarrasins oblige cependant un siècle plus tard à une nouvelle campagne, qui utilise l'Église comme ferment d'assimilation: les évêques des nouveaux sièges, les moines aussi sont clairement considérés comme des agents politiques maintenant des liens étroits avec la capitale.[87] Les autorités mettent alors en place, sur des sites éminemment défensifs, des cadres destinés à fixer les Grecs qui affluent désormais de la Sicile et du sud du pays.

En l'absence de *praitôrion*, la cathédrale, flanquée d'une place, ou les églises les plus anciennes sont situées au point le plus haut et forment le coeur de la ville du neuvième siècle: à Tauriana, les maisons semblent se presser autour.[88] Alors que dans les premières fondations, le réseau de rues, plus ou moins orthogonal, s'organisait en fonction de l'enceinte, il se développe désormais de manière classique sur les pentes en anneaux concentriques, surtout en cas d'extension progressive consacrée par une 'refondation';[89] à Gerace, l'étroitesse de l'éperon oblige au neuvième siècle à construire des maisons au-delà du fossé, sur le reste du plateau rocheux. La population se divise en peuple, gens de métier et notables, qui forment un conseil assistant l'archonte, sans doute un fonctionnaire qui dirige la ville, assisté d'une sorte de notaire;[90] ces aristocrates grecs, revêtus de dignités publiques, sont liés à un clergé lui-même hiérarchisé.[91] Ils résident en ville dans des bâtiments divisés en plusieurs pièces à fonction spécialisée, et abritant une *familia*, qui semble un groupe familial large, et des serviteurs.[92] À *Scolacium*, les notables occupent les tours de flanquement de l'enceinte, dont le rez-de-chaussée est utilisé comme pièce de stockage et cuisine, et le – ou les deux – étages, pour l'habitation. Les techniques de construction n'ont guère varié depuis le sixième siècle et sont les mêmes que celles des *chôria*: à *Scolacium*, et peut-être Tropea, dominent les solins de pierres liées d'argile; à Gerace, la base des maisons forme une encoche aménagée dans la roche, tandis que des trous de poteaux ont été retrouvés dans le faubourg. Le manque de place oblige à conserver les denrées dans des fosses creusées à l'extérieur des maisons. Le mortier reste réservé aux structures militaires et religieuses, et son apparition semble marquer le passage de *chôrion* à *kastron*, traduit par l'apparition d'édifices maçonnés.

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[87] Noyé, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands'.

[88] *Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 51–2; l'édifice, qui domine la mer, est aussi le plus en vue des bateaux (ibid., 65, 70–71).

[89] Santa Severina en est un bon exemple.

[90] *Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 51–2; ce personnage évoque l'éparque connu au siècle précédent à Santa Severina

[91] À Tauriana, plusieurs prêtres, un archidiacre et un diacre (ibid., 53–3 et 59).

[92] Ibid., 51, 52, 55–7, 59; le fait semble confirmé à Tropea où a été fouillée l'aire de service liée à une habitation 'seigneuriale'.

Les deux types d'établissement sont entourés d'une ceinture de parcelles cultivées, les pâturages marquant au-delà la limite avec les bois de chênes et de châtaigniers. Cette disposition concentrique, bien décrite dans la *Vie de Saint Phantin*,[93] montre que la restructuration des terres autour des habitats de petits cultivateurs s'est accomplie. Elle subsistera formellement jusqu'au milieu du onzième siècle,[94] mais changera peu à peu de statut juridique: c'est sans doute au neuvième siècle que les familles de notables urbains que l'on voit alors émerger et qui forment au dixième siècle de véritables dynasties commencent à rassembler les terres en propriétés portant leur nom et qui sont déjà dépecées un siècle et demi plus tard. Un autre phénomène est perceptible, l'existence d'un habitat dispersé autour de certaines villes:[95] la concentration en oeuvre depuis les cinquième-sixième siècles est achevée et la recolonisation agraire du territoire passe par des fermes éparses. Mais les raids du dixième siècle provoquent ensuite un nouveau regroupement, à en juger par la rareté des habitations isolées dans la Calabre méridionale du onzième siècle. Enfin les fortifications sont restaurées un peu partout: l'enceinte de *Scolacium*, doublée sur sa face interne, atteint une épaisseur de trois mètres; une des tours de flanquement est entièrement reconstruite et les autres voient leurs parois renforcées, à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur; des casernements pour une garnison militaire sont en outre appuyés à la courtine sur sa face interne.

Les citadelles isolées, si elles ne sont pas absentes (par exemple, celle de Le Castella, sur la côte orientale au sud de Crotone[96]), sont peu connues et sans doute rares. À partir du neuvième siècle semble apparaître un nouveau type de fortifications privées, haut perchées, accrochées à des pics rocheux et dominant un habitat installé sur des replats eux-mêmes difficilement accessibles; les exemplaires les plus représentatifs en sont Pentedattilo et *Petra Kaukas*.[97] Les officiers, qui disposent de ressources personnelles et de troupes, ont pu profiter de l'insécurité due aux raids sarrasins pour placer les populations locales sous leur dépendance.[98]

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[93] *Vita S. Phantini*, éd. Saletta, 40–42.

[94] Voir par exemple Guillou, *La théotokos*, 59, 182 et 185.

[95] Ce sont les *perioikoi* de la *Vita S. Phantini* (éd. Saletta, 68–9).

[96] Cuteri, 'La Calabria'.

[97] *Vita di Sant'Elia*, éd. Rossi-Taibbi, 53; *Vita et conversatio*, édn *AASS*, 861C.

[98] Voir les remarques de J. Haldon, 'Some considerations on Byzantine society and economy in the seventh century', *BZ* 10 (1985), 75–112, 95–8.

18. Ninth-century Byzantium through western eyes*

Chris Wickham

In 813, pope Leo III wrote to Charlemagne to tell him what some Greek travellers had reported about the new eastern emperor Leo V. They told a dramatic tale, at least in the pope's retelling. While Leo V was on campaign against the Bulgarians, Prokopia, wife of the deposed Emperor Michael I, urged the Patrician Constantine to marry her and seize the throne. Constantine entered the palace, and demanded that the patriarch crown him; when the latter refused, Constantine killed him, and also Leo's wife and son. When Leo heard this, he was upset, and spoke to his nobles thus: 'O good and most Christian men, why did you do me the ill deed of electing me emperor? For behold they have now killed my wife and son, and set another emperor up'. They were all amazed, and suggested they go back to Constantinople. Leo went with five thousand men, himself disguised as a soldier; they all stood outside the walls of the city shouting 'many years to the great emperor Constantine!' Constantine had them admitted as soldiers fleeing from Leo, whereupon they killed 16,000 men and women in the city. Leo challenged Constantine to a duel in the hippodrome, and killed him; Procopia and the other plotters were killed as well. Then Leo, 'having revenged himself thus and ordained the city appropriately', returned to the campaign. 'But', the pope added, 'I then heard otherwise; an envoy of Patrician Gregory of Sicily (Sicily being then still in Byzantine hands) came to me and told me that none of it was true, except that Procopia had had a young girl killed.' I myself guess Gregory's envoy was right; at any rate, the story does not appear in Byzantine sources, or, for that matter, in even the most detailed twentieth-century accounts of the 810s in

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Byzantium. The whole story is fascinating, for pope Leo evidently saw it as his job to relay everything he heard about Byzantium to Charlemagne, even false rumour: the Frankish ruler wanted to know it all.[1]

The Greeks (as they were universally called in the west) were the major interlocutors of the Franks by the early ninth century. Between the late 790s and the 820s there was an embassy moving from one to the other nearly all the time, a constant exchange of dozens of high-ranking figures. There were always embassies at Aachen, Charlemagne's capital, from everywhere, it is true; but the ones from Constantinople were held to be the most important: it was they, for example, whom Louis the Pious received most prominently when he succeeded Charlemagne in 814, and in 817 the envoys of the *amīr* of Cordoba had to wait three months while Louis dealt with an embassy from Leo V that had arrived later.[2] The Franks, in their own eyes (and not wrongly), were by far the dominant power in the west; in 800 their king was crowned *imperator et augustus* by the pope. Only the other *imperator*, in Constantinople, was to them in any sense their equal. And the Byzantines seem to have recognized some of this themselves, for they did address the Frankish emperor as *basileus* or *imperator*, on several documented occasions during the century from Michael I's reign onwards; their major concern was to retain a monopoly of not the title, but its attachment to the word 'Roman', *basileus ton Romaion*, which Michael I pointedly put on his coins. It appears, that is to say, that as long as Romanity belonged to the east, the west could have emperors too.[3]

On one level, then, Frankish-Byzantine relationships in the ninth century were characterized by mutual respect. But we are entitled to ask if this was all. In particular, how far did the west think the east was part of the same

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[1] *MGH Epistolae* 5 (Berlin, 1899), 99–100. The event is not discussed in J.B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I* (London, 1912), 43–76, or W. Treadgold, The *Byzantine Revival 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), 196–225; nor even in V. Grumel, 'Les relations politico-religieuses entre Byzance et Rome sous le règne de Léon V l'Armenien', *REB* 18 (1960), 19–44.

[2] Embassies to the west are listed in T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident* (Athens, 1980), 157–97, 472–7. For east-west contact, the most up to date surveys are M. McCormick, 'Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter with Byzantium Down to the Accession of Charles the Bald', in B. McGinn and W. Otten, eds, *Eriugena: East and West* (Notre Dame, 1994), 15–48; idem, 'Byzantium and the West, 700–900', in R. McKitterick, ed., *NCMH* 2 (Cambridge, 1995), 349–80. For the 814 and 817 citations, see *Annales Regni Francorum: MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* 26 (Hanover, 1895) s.aa.

[3] See Paul Speck's contribution to this volume and P. Grierson, 'The Carolingian Empire in the Eyes of Byzantium', *Settimane* 27 (1981), 885–916 for a survey; Byzantine opinions are not, however, my concern in this chapter. For Michael I, ibid., 910–11, and *Annales Regni Francorum* (edn *MGH*) s.a. 812. The classic survey of Charlemagne's reign in this context is P. Classen, *Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum, und Byzanz*, 3rd edn (Sigmaringen, 1985); for the 800 coronation, another good guide is still R. Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne* (London, 1974), see 86–100 for the Frankish view of the Byzantines in the 790s.

cultural world, as the other half of the Roman empire and of christendom? One could put it like this: in the year 500, the eastern emperor was the undisputed leader of the former Roman world, from whom the new *reges* of the west were very anxious indeed to receive recognition and respect; in the year 1100, he was just another untrustworthy oriental, deserving of every trick or snub to which he was subjected by the bold leaders of the west, who were by now actually active in the eastern Mediterranean performing the military exploits in Syria and Palestine that the emperor could not manage to do himself. Where on this trajectory of increasing western contempt does the ninth century lie – a time of eastern prosperity, to be sure, but also of huge western self-confidence? Despite their diplomatic contact, after all, east and west were in cultural terms fairly far apart. They were, for instance, woefully ignorant of each other's major language, outside Rome at least. The near-absence of Greek grammars in the west has been tracked by a number of scholars since the second World War (one or two seem in fact to have been developed in the Carolingian period, as Carlotta Dionisotti has argued, but their availability was very limited); Greek language-learning was thus hard indeed.[4] As for Constantinople, the Roman Anastasius Bibliothecarius, one of the only bilingual intellectuals on either side, was very disparaging in 871: the Ecumenical Council of 869/70 did not even incorporate all the Latin documentation into its acts, 'translators being lacking in that city'.[5] One might well ask whether the ninth-century Franks, faced with distant and inadequately-understood rivals, were already resorting to the construction of the Greeks as the Other, in the tropes that we have learnt to categorize as 'orientalism': as a decaying, luxurious, hypocritical, pomp-ridden world, with no real historical development, just palace machinations – a view made notorious by the crusaders, and intellectually respectable by Enlightenment figures such as Gibbon.[6]

In part we can already identify this characterization of the Byzantine world in the Carolingian period. (Nor should we forget that some of its roots go back to the ambiguous attitude to Greeks held by republican Rome, and indeed the attitude to Persians and Egyptians held by Greeks themselves in previous centuries.) Certain words for Greeks crop up in Carolingian-

[4] A.C. Dionisotti, 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe', in M.W. Herren, ed., *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks* (London, 1988), 1–56; earlier, see B. Bischoff, 'Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters', now in his *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (Stuttgart, 1967), 246–75, and W. Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages* (Washington DC, 1987), 106–71 for the Carolingians, which is the best general starting-point.

[5] *MGH, Epistolae* 7 (Berlin, 1928), 411. Anastasius doubtless exaggerated, but the discourse is a significant one.

[6] E. Said, *Orientalism*, 2nd edn (London, 1995). The debate over these issues has developed immensely in the last decade, but Said's classical treatment is all we need here. For crusader imagery, see B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in westerse ogen, 1096–1204* (Groningen, 1971).

period texts from all over the West: *invidia*, envy; *fraus* or *falsitas* or *perfidia*, fraud and deception; *sublimitas*, pride. Greeks are not straight dealers; they despise us Franks, whom they regard, in their prejudice and hypocrisy, as uncouth (this bit was pretty true); but they also envy us.[7] Envy is perhaps the crucial word: the Franks assumed that the Greeks recognized their overwhelming military and political success and were jealous of it. Einhard claims in his *Vita Caroli* that Charlemagne took some pains to woo the 'Roman emperors' (one of the very few times a western writer uses the word 'Roman' for the Byzantines after 800) from their envy and indignation at his imperial title – of course successfully, for he had a far stronger personality. By the end of the century, this sort of dismissal was increasingly common, as in Notker of St Gallen's stories from the 880s of Charlemagne humiliating the contemptuous and cowardly Greek ambassadors, or of the lazy and unmilitary 'king of Constantinople' foolishly granting Saxony to Charlemagne, to the latter's great amusement.[8]

On the other hand, Greek culture had status, at least among the intellectuals of the Carolingian world. The major writers of the century valued it a lot; they traded in it. There are many letters from one Carolingian intellectual to another – Alcuin, Benedict of Aniane, Einhard, Agobard, Amalarius, Florus, Lupus of Ferrières, Hraban – that hang on the interpretation of a Greek word or phrase, as if to say: if you do not know Greek, you cannot be a proper intellectual, unlike me.[9] Not many of them knew much Greek at all, in fact, beyond the alphabet; but they wrote as if they did, and evidently felt that they had to do so. Furthermore, real knowledge of Greek was an automatic passport to success in the Frankish courts of the mid-century; it made the career of several Irishmen, notably Sedulius Scottus and John Scottus, whose linguistic training was more developed. The Byzantine Emperor Michael II shrewdly targeted the major imperial Monastery of St Denis in 827 with a gift to Louis the Pious of the major works of the monastery's supposed patron saint, Dionysios the Areopagite, a manuscript that left a track across the whole century: Abbot Hilduin of St Denis immediately had it translated in house, making rude

[7] Among many, *MGH Epistolae* 4 (Berlin, 1895), 235–6; 6 (Hanover, 1925), 172–3, 457, 492–3, 516, 601–9; 7, 59–60, 277–8, 413–15; Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni* (*MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* 25 [Hanover, 1911]), chapter 28; Notker, *Gesta Caroli Magni imperatoris* (*MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* n.s. 12 [Berlin, 1959]), 1, 10 and 26.

[8] Einhard, *Vita Caroli* (edn *MGH*), chapters 16 and 28; Notker, *Gesta Caroli* (edn *MGH*), 2, 5 and 6. The Council of Paris in 825 also referred to *imperatores Romanorum* (*MGH Concilia* 2.2 [Hanover, 1908], 523): Einhard's terminology may fit in with the relative mutual amiability of Michael II's reign (cf. below, text to note 10, and note 20).

[9] *MGH Epistolae* 4, 260–62, 426–7, 563; 5, 148, 259–60, 342, 543–4, 549; 6, 27–8, 42–3, 161–2, 199; Agobardus Lugdunensis, *Opera omnia*: ed. L. van Acker, Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaeualis 52 (Turnhout, 1981), 288; etc. For the limits of knowledge, see e.g. Berschin, *Greek Letters*, 127–32.

remarks the while about the linguistic inadequacies of former writers on the saint, too inexpert in Greek to realize Dionysios had been a bishop; thirty years later, John Scottus retranslated the whole text, much more expertly, as he implies in his introductory letter (and this time he was right).[10] John's only rival as a translator, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in a letter to the Emperor Charles the Bald in 875, both praised and belittled John for this: it is amazing, he said, that a *vir barbarus* from the edge of the world should be able to translate such a difficult text so well; pity that its resultant obscurity – for John was prone to translate word by word – means that John's translation itself needs translating.[11]

Much of this interest in Greek can be seen as simple antiquarianism, or at best as the acquisition of a technical skill; an interest in the language, essentially to read classical texts (above all the Bible and the eastern Church Fathers, all of them pre-dating 500) is not the same as an interest in contemporary Greek politics and religious issues.[12] One can see this antiquarianism in almost touching examples: the dozens of Greek and bilingual manuscripts faithfully copied in St Gallen by the *ellinici fratres*, the 'Greek brothers' as Notker called them, only a few of whom show any signs of being able to read Greek except through the Latin on the facing page; or in Charlemagne's retirement task, in 813/4, which was no less than the revision of the Latin translation of the gospels, which he undertook with the help of Greeks and Syrians, in effect as ghost-writers – Charlemagne's own Greek being poor. Lupus of Ferrières was struck to discover in 837 a real live Greek who told him that the word *blasphemus*, a known Greek loan-word, was pronounced with an unaccented *e* in contemporary Greek, for the famous Latin grammarian Prudentius had scanned it with an accent. Lupus did not attempt to deal with this inconsistency.[13]

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[10] In general, McCormick, 'Byzantium and the West', 374–5; Berschin, *Greek Letters*, 117–21, 132–45; for Hilduin's responses, *MGH Epistolae* 5, 325–37 (including criticisms of Venantius Fortunatus' Greek: ibid., 333); for John Scottus on the text, *MGH Epistolae* 6, 158–61. For John Scottus' translations, and his knowledge of Greek, see among others, G. Théry, 'Scot Erigène traducteur de Denys', *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* 6 (1931), 185–278; E. Jeauneau, 'Jean Scot Erigène et le grec', *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* 41 (1977–8), 5–50. Sedulius Scottus' knowledge of Greek is very clear in *MGH Epistolae* 6, 201–5.

[11] *MGH Epistolae* 7, 430–34. Anastasius was in reality, despite his claims to the contrary, prone to translate word by word too: see Westerbergh's analysis in Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Sermo Theodori Studitae*, ed. U. Westerbergh (Stockholm, 1963), 149–98.

[12] I am grateful to Rosamond McKitterick for ideas on this matter.

[13] For St Gallen, see B. M. Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age. The St Gall Manuscripts* (Cambridge MA, 1988); 86–98 for real Greek knowledge. For Charlemagne, Thegan, *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris* (*MGH Scriptores* 2 [Berlin, 1829]), chapter 7, with Einhard, *Vita Caroli* (edn *MGH*), chapter 25 for Greek skills. For Lupus, *MGH Epistolae* 6, 27.

But, on the other hand, this does at least show us that conversational Greek was available in Francia, through embassies and merchants. There was a continuum of Greek knowledge in the Carolingian world, in fact: some people had picked it up through daily dealings with Greeks; many struggled bravely with the rather different classical language with inadequate grammars and wordlists (perhaps some did both, in a mirror of the 'A' level French of the 1960s); a restricted few could read and translate properly, whether they came from the Irish tradition or from still-cosmopolitan Rome. They *wanted* to read Greek, whether they could or not. The cultural prestige of the Greek world remained high, at least in part; the New Rome that could produce a Dionysios manuscript so easily could not avoid having a certain cultural status just for that. Similarly, the concern of the Franks to have an opinion on Iconoclasm, which they expressed in largely pro-iconoclast terms in semi-formal writings of the 790s and, above all, at the Council of Paris in 825, even though the issue was not nearly as central to western theology (outside iconophile Rome, at least), is arguably at least in part because an issue that convulsed the eastern empire so much had to be considered relevant in the west as well.[14] This continuing relevance of Greek thought is well encapsulated in the fact that Anastasius Bibliothecarius not only translated contemporary works by Theodore of Stoudion *(vir satis mirabilis)* and Constantine/Cyril but recommended the latter to the Emperor Charles the Bald. Anastasius was a Roman, and thus tied intimately into Constantinopolitan culture and politics, but Charles was not: nonetheless, contemporary Greek writings were evidently worth being made known north of the Alps too.[15] The Greeks may have been envious, but they had real cultural capital.

These points show that there was a contact between east and west, and a genuine exchange of ideas (at least from east to west) that went deeper

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[14] A. Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', *Viator* 16 (1985), 65–108. See further J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton, 1987), 426–39, 469–72; M. McCormick, 'Textes, images et iconoclasme dans le cadre des relations entre Byzance et l'Occident carolingien', *Settimane* 41 (1994), 95–158, esp. 133–53; D. Ganz, 'Theology and the Organisation of Thought', *NCMH* 2, 758–85, at 773–7. For the texts, *MGH Concilia* 2,2, 475–532 for Paris; 2, supplement (1924; new edn, 1996) for the *Libri Carolini*, the basic pro-iconoclast text of the 790s – rather more significant intellectually than the Council of Paris, but not given the same imprimatur by the church.

[15] *MGH Epistolae* 7, 433; Anastasius, *Sermo Theodori Studitae* (edn Westerbergh). For Anastasius as translator, see his collected introductions in *MGH Epistolae* 7, 396–402, 419–42, with the references cited in M. McCormick, 'Anastasius Bibliothecarius', *ODB* 1, 88–9; Berschin, *Greek Letters*, 162–9; C. Leonardi, 'L'agiografia romana nel secolo IX', in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés, IV–XII^e siècles* (Paris 1981), 471–89; and above, note 11. For Rome as a translation centre and cultural way-station, see T. S. Brown, 'Byzantine Italy, c. 680–c. 876', *NCMH* 2, 320–48, at 331–42; L. Brubaker, 'The Introduction of Painted Initials in Byzantium', *Scriptorium* 45 (1991), 22–46, at 41–5.

than the mere visits of embassies. Exactly how deep it went is a moot point. Our evidence comes most systematically from two traditions: the court culture of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious in Aachen and its environs, and (after the division of Francia) that of Charles the Bald in what is now northern France; and the Rome of the popes, intimately connected with the east thanks to its position as the senior patriarchate of the eastern empire. How people thought about Byzantium in the north Italian cities, maybe more important in the world of Carolingian politics than was Rome, we cannot easily tell, for we do not have the right sorts of source; only Agnellus, writing a history of the archbishops of Ravenna in the 840s, provides a few rude phrases about the poisonous words of the Greeks.[16] I guess that in Italy in general people might have had the same love-hate relationship to Byzantium that we will see in Rome – Liutprand of Cremona certainly did, a century later – but we cannot say much about it. About Germany we can say a little more, as I shall argue; of the other provincial cultures of the empire, however, we have almost nothing. But the Aachen-Rome axis, at least, did possess a certain familiarity with the contemporary Byzantine world, as well as a respect for its literary culture. Among writers in these two traditions, Byzantium was dealt with as a serious partner, whether ally or opponent. One small example is Amalarius bishop of Trier, who wrote a poem about his embassy to Constantinople in 813 called the *Versus marini*. It is a pretty banal text, but it is almost exclusively about the sea-voyage; when they actually get to Constantinople, there is nothing surprising or wonderful about the place at all; they are at length received honourably by the emperor after an eighty-day confinement in the city, and then they return. This is an unenjoyable business trip, not a journey to a world of wonders or dangers; Constantinople is rich, doubtless, but routine.[17]

The political dealings between Frankish emperors and popes on one side, eastern emperors on the other, were marked by much the same routine

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[16] Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, chapter 140 (*MGH Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–XI* [Hanover, 1878], 369). Cf. T.S. Brown, 'The Background of Byzantine Relations with Italy', *ByzF* 13 (1988), 27–45. Agnellus' dislike of Greeks is expressed in his own ornate style, but it has close analogies with that of Roman writers: see below, text to notes 23–5. So also is Erchempert's southern reaction (the Greeks are as bad as the Arabs): *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, chapter 81 (*MGH Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–XI*, 264); but other southern Italian writers were in fact more moderate – see T.S. Brown, 'Ethnic Independence and Cultural Deference', in *Byzantium and its Neighbours from the Mid-Ninth till the Twelfth Centuries* (Bechyně, 1990), 5–12, at 9 (thanks to the author for a copy of this notoriously inaccessible text).

[17] *MGH Poetae Latini Medii Aevi* 1 (Berlin, 1881), 426–8. Hugeberc's *Hodoeporicon* of the 770s (relating to a voyage made by Willibald in the 720s) similarly does not privilege Constantinople; Willibald only goes into the dangerous Abroad when he crosses the border into Arab Palestine and Syria (*MGH Scriptores* 15, 1 [Hanover, 1887], 94–101).

throughout the century: both sides contained men familiar with the other's customs and political trends. It did matter to Charlemagne that Michael I should recognize his imperial title; he gave up the chance of occupying Venice for that recognition. In 839 Louis the Pious, finding that an embassy from Theophilos contained what he believed were Viking spies, did not conclude that the Byzantines were betraying him, but, rather, warned Theophilos himself of the danger.[18] And in the 860s the long-running disputes between pope Nicholas I and Photios (over *filioque*, Photios' own legitimacy and Latin versus Greek rivalry for the conversion of Bulgaria), which at first sight were a problem wholly internal to Rome given its special ecclesiastical relationship with the east, were passed back by Nicholas in 867 to Frankish synods in the north, in order to get Frankish ecclesiastical backing for his positions. Hincmar of Reims, Charles the Bald's adviser, certainly thought this was mostly Nicholas' problem rather than his own, but he did what the pope asked; we have two substantial north French critiques of Byzantine religious positions, by Aeneas of Paris and Ratramn of Corbie, both dating to 868/9, as a result.[19]

This normality of relationships between east and west may, then, explain why the Greeks do not appear more often than they do in western texts in the guise of the Other: as mirrors for the self- esteem of the Franks, that is to say, whose negative qualities reflected the Franks' own positive ones. This role was certainly played by the Arabs; but the Greeks were not foreign enough, however fraudulent and envious. Even Agobard of Lyon, the most acerbic xenophobe of Louis the Pious' reign, with not only several tracts against Jews to his name but even one against Burgundians, has not a word to say against Greeks.[20] The Greeks were viewed, I think, as one might view a talented older sibling who had begun to fail in life; with exasperation, a bit of scorn, but also with recognition. The Greeks were seen as often in error, particularly over religion (over *filioque*, for example, though this had nothing like the importance it would have in the eleventh century); they had to be treated warily; but they mattered, and they mattered politically, not just culturally. Westerners were delighted when the Byzantines won battles against the Arabs, for example; it was the Christians winning, not

[18] For Louis and Theophilus, *Annales Bertiniani* (*MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* 5 [Hanover, 1883]), s.a. 839.

[19] In general, see F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge, 1948), 70–131. Nicholas to Hincmar: *MGH Epistolae* 6, 601–9. For Frankish reactions, *Annales Bertiniani* (edn *MGH*), s.a. 867 (written by Hincmar); Aeneas, *Liber adversos Graecos* (*PL* 121: 685–762); Ratramn, *Contra Graecorum opposita* (*PL* 121: 225–346); cf. Ganz, 'Theology', 781–3, and K. Kennedy, 'The Permanence of an Idea', in H. Mordek, ed., *Aus Kirche und Reich* (Sigmaringen, 1983), 105–16.

[20] Agobardus, *Opera* (edn van Acker). One should note that Agobard was an iconoclast extremist (by Frankish standards) in the age of the second Iconoclasm, which may explain why he was not anti-Greek: ibid., 151–81.

just one group of easterners fighting against another.[21] This was so even if (as Aeneas of Paris, among others, said) the Byzantines were particularly prone to heresy (all that Greek subtlety),[22] or if they did not realize often enough how good the Franks were.

The only people who really seem to have hated the Greeks were the Romans, at least in the period of Rome-Constantinople tension starting in the 860s. Easily the most bitter remarks about Byzantium came from the pens of Nicholas I and Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and, in the 870s John VIII, the three men out of all those so far mentioned most intimately linked to the court of the east. Nicholas wrote to the Emperor Michael III in 865 referring to a letter of Pope Hadrian I which Michael should find in his archive 'unless it has been falsified, in the manner of the Greeks'; and indeed later claimed that the Greeks translated his letters to the Constantinople synod of 867 with deliberate falsity. (Nicholas could, of course, have sent Greek speakers to the synod; there were plenty in Rome, at least. He doubtless had good reason not to, as Sansterre has remarked; the problem of translation was in the end his own.)[23] When Anastasius and, later, John get onto the subject of the Greek victory in the race to convert the Bulgars, they become incandescent: perfidy, cunning, fraud and lies are systematically attributed to the Byzantines and their actions. It turns out that Anastasius' major purpose in translating the acts of the Ecumenical Council of 869/70 into Latin in 871 was to establish a correct text, in case the Greeks tried to corrupt it, especially over the Bulgar mission.[24] It is not surprising, perhaps, that one of the very few authors of the century to deny that the eastern emperors had a claim to the title *imperator Romanorum* was Anastasius: he knew the Greeks well enough to know what would really annoy them. In a famous letter of 871 from the western emperor Louis II, *imperator augustus Romanorum*, to Basil I, *imperator novae Romae*, almost certainly the work of Anastasius, Louis states flatly that, although of Frankish origin, he is Roman emperor because the pope gave that title to Charlemagne, just as the Theodosian dynasty, from Spain, had been Roman not Spanish emperors. The Greeks, by contrast, had not defended Rome, and had indeed deserted it for Constantinople; they had even deserted the Roman language; they had lost the title of *imperatores Romanorum* for their wrong opinions or *kacodosia* (*sic*).

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[21] E.g., for Pope John VIII, *MGH Epistolae* 7, 233.

[22] *PL* 121: 685–90 (= *MGH Epistolae* 6, 172–3); cf. Louis II's comments in *MGH Epistolae* 7, 390.

[23] *MGH Epistolae* 6, 457, 492–3, 516, 601–9; cf. J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne* (Brussels, 1983), 144; Dvornik, *Photian schism*, 119–23.

[24] *MGH Epistolae* 7, 410–15 (Anastasius); cf., for John, 59–60, 146, 277, etc.

The Louis letter is actually otherwise couched in rather defensive terms. Basil had written him a prior letter, unfortunately now lost, which evidently had included accusations and insults that had hit home: the western empire was usurped, and also divided, so that Louis, though nominally emperor, only really ruled Italy. Louis, with the help of Anastasius' knowledge, aimed to hit home too.[25] The closeness of the links between Rome and Constantinople allowed the Latin and Greek worlds in this case to search accurately for vulnerable targets in this verbal war; they knew how to do so. Philip Grierson in 1981 characterized this sort of sparring, across the century, in terms of the Cold War, although, as he pointed out, it involved less mutual myth-making than the Cold War did.[26] I think the analogy is flawed, for the real Cold War-style oppositions of systems and values were with the Arabs; a better modern analogue for me would be the relationship between Britain and France, nominal allies for a century but enemies for a long time before that, and devoted even in this century to mutual sneering and elbow jogging – allies, that is to say, which simply do not like one another, including each others' culture (though they borrow it), but persist for the most part in dealing with the other as a privileged partner.

I will finish by looking at one alternative tradition in the Carolingian world, the only one that systematically uses an 'orientalist' imagery to deal with the Byzantines: that of central and southern Germany, notably Mainz, St Gallen and maybe Fulda, in the later ninth century. The years after 830 in Francia are described by two major sets of annals, the *Annals of St Bertin* for what is now France, and the so-called *Annals of Fulda*, written in part at least at Mainz, for what is now Germany. The Fulda annals are notably more hostile to the Greeks. For Hincmar, the author of the *Annals of St Bertin*, the Greek religious errors of the 860s were an interesting issue; for the Fulda annalist, they were just 'stupidities', that did not need to be discussed. The Fulda annals also spend some time criticizing Charles the Bald for his imperial coronation in 876, claiming that, 'despising all the customs of the Frankish kings, he held the glories of the Greeks to be best', a tone notably contrasted to the neutral remark of the *Annals of St Bertin* that he was clad 'in the Greek fashion' during a synod, and in its Hellenophobia new in Carolingian historiography.[27]

[25] *MGH Epistolae* 7, 386–94; for Anastasius in his own person in similar vein, ibid., 411. For another example of accurate rudeness, see *MGH Epistolae* 6, 459, Nicholas I's response to Michael III's reported claim that Latin was barbarous; Michael also claimed that Rome was 'antiquated' (ibid., 474). On this see also Marie Theres Fögen's chapter earlier in this volume.

[26] Grierson, 'Carolingian Empire', 890–97, 914–16.

[27] *Annales Bertiniani* (edn *MGH*), s.a. 867 (schism), 876 (coronation); *Annales Fuldenses* (*MGH, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* 7 [1891]), s.a. 868 (schism), 876 (coronation). My quotations are from the translations by J.L. Nelson, *The Annals of St Bertin* (Manchester, 1991) and T. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda* (Manchester, 1992), s.aa. When dealing with Greek embassies, however, the Fulda annalist is more neutral, following *Annales Regni Francorum* traditions: see e.g. *Annales Fuldenses* s.aa. 872, 873.

It is, however, Notker of St Gallen's life of Charlemagne, from the 880s, that is the major literary monument to this view of Byzantium. In Notker, the Byzantines are fools and cowards, and have strange customs that catch visitors out. A Frankish envoy to Constantinople is nearly put to death for turning over his fish at the king's table and eating from its underside, which is depicted as against Greek law – he only saves himself by a cunning trick. When the Greek envoys come to Charlemagne in return, they are themselves humiliated, and then astonished by the emperor's glory, clad in gold and jewels, glittering in the sun, surrounded by his family and his clerics. Notker put his account of Greek embassies into the same section of his book as his equally folkloric account of embassies to and from the 'Persians' (i.e. the caliphate), full as they are of Persian amazement at Frankish strength and hunting ability, matched by the richness of Persian gifts. These accounts certainly show the Franks in an orientalising mirror: as strong, valourous, straightforward, clever, and rich but not ostentatious or over-sophisticated, as opposed to Greeks and Persians who are the reverse.[28]

Notker's account is justly famous; but it is worth repeating that we have not seen this sort of imagery before. Notker borrowed heavily from Einhard's life, but there is nothing like this in Einhard. His negative attitudes are the other side of the coin to what we know about St Gallen's fascination with Greek manuscripts that most of the monks could not read: they represent a cultural tradition and a world-view several degrees less well informed and less sophisticated about the outside world than that in contemporary northern France. South German culture had many strengths; but, in their attitudes to the outside world, it seems to me that although the St Gallen monks and the Fulda annalist had close links with the east Frankish court, both can be seen as part of a provincial tradition, set against the more 'metropolitan' culture of the court circle around Charles the Bald. In that provincial tradition, the world outside Francia was less well-known, less clearly understood and far less interesting. The contemporary Byzantines, here, were only known as rivals in the missions

[28] Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni* (edn *MGH*), 2, 5–9; compare also the *Poeta Saxo* (*MGH Poetae Latini Medii Aevi* 4 [Hanover, 1899]), 28, 61–2 for a north German view of the Greeks as stronger in their words than their deeds (though this is certainly a literary topos; it can be found in similar words in Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 8, 22), as luxurious, etc. For the later history of the fish story, see J. Schneider, 'Die Geschichte vom gewendeten Fisch', *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff* (Stuttgart, 1971), 218–25, a reference I owe to Mike McCormick. Earlier, the *Annales Regni Francorum* had stressed Arab, not Byzantine, gifts (e.g. edn *MGH*, s.aa. 801/2, 807); because the Arabs seemed in that period stranger? Or because the gifts, themselves, were more exotic? For Notker, see in general H. Löwe, 'Das Karlsbuch Notkers von St. Gallen und sein zeitgeschichtlicher Hintergrund', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 20 (1970), 269–302; M. Innes, 'Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society', *Past and Present*, in press.

to the Slavs;[29] there was perhaps no need for writers to try to find out what they thought or did.

We cannot be sure how typical this German image of the Byzantines as Other was of other provincial cultures in the Frankish world, such as southern France, for we do not have the evidence. I would guess however, that it was; for it is this image of Byzantium that would in the end win out. The tenth century saw the collapse of central power in all the Carolingian kingdoms except Germany, where the traditions of Carolingian court culture were always weakest; the Frankish world became a world of regions, and the court culture of Charlemagne, Louis and Charles the Bald disappeared. Liutprand of Cremona, writing in the third quarter of the tenth century, well after my period ends, looks both ways, as an Italian working for the Germans might be expected to do. His *Antapodosis*, a history of the known world since the 880s, actually starts with an account of Basil I and Leo VI, for the known world for him is essentially Byzantium and Germany, flanking Italy in the centre, and his Byzantines are no stranger in that text than any others. Liutprand's images of the world are unique to him, but his *construction* of the relevant world is in an Italian tradition that has analogues with the world-view of Nicholas I and Anastasius Bibliothecarius. By contrast, Liutprand's account of his failed legation to Constantinople for the German Emperor Otto I in 968 is the emblematic text in the next centuries for Byzantine extravagance, arrogance, meanness, effeminacy, inconsistency and stupidity.[30] It is this essentially provincial view that became dominant in the end, to the lasting discredit of western culture and with, in the end, disastrous results for the Byzantines. The French *chansons de geste* have Charlemagne leading Frankish crusades; the sad reality, however, was that it was only 'provincials', in the most negative sense of the term, who came east in 1096.

[29] See e.g. H. Löwe, 'Cyrill und Methodius zwischen Byzanz und Rom', *Settimane* 30 (1983), 631–86, at 663–78.

[30] Liudprand, *Opera* (*MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* 41 [Hanover, 1915]): *Antapodosis* 1, 5–12 for Basil and Leo; 6, 2–10 for a happy visit to Constantinople; *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* for a disastrous one. For comments, see K. Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe* 1 (London, 1994), 131–42; J. N. Sutherland, *Liudprand of Cremona* (Spoleto, 1988), 24–6.

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